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POPE'S TRIP VIEWED AS SERVING U.S. INTERESTS

AU081022 Tirana ATA in English 0920 GMT 8 Mar 83

["Black Missionary of Washington in Central America" -- ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, March 8 (ATA) -- As is reported, Pope John Paul 2 began his tour of Central America on March 2. The pope undertook his tour of Central America at a time when the domination of Washington and its local guardians in that region is being shaken by the liberation struggle of the peoples. But Washington does not abandon easily this strategic gate in its "backyard". Despite this, about 650 million dollars in military and economic aid, hundreds of its military advisers attached to the regimes of Magana, Montt, Cordova, etc., the unrestrained violence and terror that have brought about the death of 100 thousand people during the last five years in Central America, in a word, the merciless whip of Washington which is the fundamental feature of Reagan's policy, have failed to halt this movement.

In the face of this situation Washington is also using the other side of the medal: the policy of poisoned carrot. And Washington could not find a more suitable missionary than Pope John Paul 2 after the abortive missions of Reagan, Kirkpatrick to Central America. The essence of his apostolic message in Central America was: "peace", "understanding" and "dialogue" among different trends: that is between Washington which suppresses, grabs and exploits these countries and the painstaking [as received] Central American peoples, between the fascist dictators and the working people who are murdered without any fault, between the hangmen and murderers in power and their victims... so that Central America remains eternally the "back yard" of Washington, paradise for 5 per cent of fascist generals, landowners and oligarchs who possess 75 per cent of the assets and hell for the three fourths of the poor people, who have it difficult to feed their children. This is pope's message for the peoples of Central America. This is the reason of his tour to the "turmoiled south". This is the role entrusted to him by Washington so as to play in the tragedy they are causing to the freedom and independence of the peoples and countries of that region.

But times have changed. The eyes of the peoples clearly distinguish the white from black, freedom from slavery. At the time when the pope was making appeals for this kind of "peace and understanding" in San Salvador and Guatemala, protected by thousands of soldiers and police and secret agents and armoured helicopters of American production, the liberation struggle of the fighters for freedom continues in the mountains of these countries. This is the proper reply to the messages of the black missionary of Washington -- Pope John Paul 2.

ZHIVKOV GREETS GANDHI AS NONALIGNED CHAIRMAN

AU081446 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Mar 83 p 1

[Text] To Mrs Indira Gandhi, president of the Seventh Conference of the Nonaligned Movement, New Delhi:

Esteemed Madam President,

I take the liberty, on behalf of the State Council and Government of the PRB, on behalf of the Bulgarian people, and on my own behalf to convey most sincere greetings to you personally, as well as to all state and government leaders participating in the Seventh Conference of the Nonaligend Movement.

Your authoritative international forum is taking place under the difficult circumstances of a complicated situation. The warmongering, militarist circles of imperialism are aggravating international tension, conducting a policy of confrontation and arms race that is disastrous for mankind, and are expanding the network of military bases far from their national borders. These imperialist forces are trying to dictate their will to sovereign states and are creating hotbeds of war in various areas of the world.

The PRB is inspired by one firm conviction: for all peace-loving states and for peoples in the world today there is no more important task than that of resolutely resisting this policy of imperialism and of preserving, as well as of consolidating, universal peace. This is the main prerequisite for the salvation of mankind and for the satisfaction of peoples' striving toward comprehensive development and prosperity. As stated in the Political Declaration issued by the Warsaw Pact in Prague, the struggle for preventing thermonuclear war is now giving primary importance to the demand to rein in the arms race and to urgently achieve disarmament, especially in the nuclear weapons sector.

We are glad that the new peace initiatives of the socialist community member states are being widely and increasingly supported by the nonaligned countries, by all democratic and peace-loving forces throughout the world, which are more and more powerfully raising their voices in defense of peace and the peoples' security.

The PRB greatly appreciates the contribution of the Nonaligned Movement in the process of consolidating the international atmosphere and appreciates its contribution to the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, against apartheid and racial discrimination. We welcome the practical steps and specific proposals of the nonaligned countries aimed at alleviating international tension, at a peaceful and just settlement of the urgent problems, at the establishment of zones of peace, security, and cooperation in various parts of the world. We have a profound understanding for the demands as regards the reorganization of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis. We are supporting the efforts to establish a new economic order.

I wish you, esteemed Madam President, and all participants in the Seventh Conference of the Nonaligned Movement very successful and fruitful work and even greater unity in your noble struggle for peace and security, for freedom, independence and progress, on our beautiful planet!

Signed: Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council of the PRB

TRIAL AGAINST ITALIANS CONTINUES 8 MARCH

AU081509 Sofia BTA in Enlgish 1445 GMT 8 Mar 83

[Text] Sofia, March 8 (BTA) -- The trial against Paolo Farsetti and Gabriella Trevisin continued here today with the examination of eight of the witnesses for the prosecution. The Italian nationals Farsetti and Trevisin are charged of taking pictures of military sites which are a state secret with the view to presenting them to a foreign state or organization.

Employees, reception clerks, chambermaids of the hotel in the Golden Sands complex in Varna where Farsetti and Trevisin stopped, added new touches to Paolo Farsetti's portrait today.

According to the resolute opinion of all the witnesses Farsetti had no good attitude towards Bulgaria. He denied the achievements of socialism by maintaining that Bulgaria "has lagged behind Italy with twenty five years at least". All witnesses were unanimous that Farsetti treated Trevisin rudely and that she did everything "Paolo ordered to her".

Farsetti presented himself as a journalist and collected addresses of Bulgaria citizens without however giving his in Italy.

Tomorrow the trial will continue with an examination of witnesses who have come from Italy.

'SECRET NATO DOCUMENT' ON TERRORISM RECEIVED

AU081027 Sofia BTA in English 0837 GMT 8 Mar 83

["The Document With the 'NATO-Secret' Inscription and a Letter to the BTA" -- BTA headline; quotation marks as received]

[Text] Sofia, March 8 (BTA) -- At his meeting with Bulgarian and foreign journalists last Friday, the director general of the BULGARIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY, Mr Boyan Traykov, read excerpts from a document carrying the inscription "NATO -- Secret". These were photocopies of pages of a report delivered at a session of the NATO Council early in 1982. The report was read by Mr Richard Meyer, president of the Federal Service for Protection of the Constitution in the Federal Republic of Germany. Today's OTECHESTVEN FRONT carries passages of the report and also the letter with which the photocopies were received at the bureau of the BULGARIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY in Bonn.

The letter is not signed. The author writes that he cannot agree with the political-shortsightedness and the lack of sharp eye for developments, as demonstrated in Italy, and "unfortunately, not only there".

Blinded by ad hoc and internal political considerations and greedy for power, certain circles in the West launched a campaign in connection with the second investigation in Italy of the facts surrounding the attempt on the life of Pope John Paul II" reads the letter in part. "Recently this campaign has turned into a farce seeking to inflict a heavy moral blow to the West and to the entire Christian world." [sentence as received]

"From the very beginning it should have become clear that a non-existent truth cannot be proved true" writes the author. "What is even more contradictory and dangerous is the intention to use for these purposes an Islamic fanatic and a representative of a nation which stands as a synonym of religious intolerance of Christianity and Catholicism.

"Ali Agca is a Turk, who in other circumstances would have been one of the people creating problems for our country, be it as a member of the Turkish right extremists, or as a guest worker. And this assassin, instead of getting a just punishment and a public condemnation, is surrounded by serious attempts to shift the blame upon a Christian and in this way to discredit all people in the East and the West, who believe in God" writes the author of the letter, received at the bureau of the BULGARIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY in Bonn.

"Is it actually important" he goes on, "that this Christian is coming from a communist country? Is this going to erase the accusation which has tainted the reputation of Christianity? Are we going to pass over in silence the fact that Turkey -- our ally and the homeland for Agca -- in a mean manner is taking advantage of the confusion in order to involve the leader of the Christian Social Union, Mr Franz-Josef Strauss, into the responsibility for the attempt on the life of the pope, while using "facts and documents" made public by the Turkish mass media for alleged links between Mr Strauss and the leader of the "National Salvation" party of Mr Turkes.

The author of the letter to the BTA writes that he is sending photocopies of pages of "our report on the problems of terrorism" to make the world see that in the Federal Republic of Germany, too, like in the other NATO member-countries there are people who are sober-minded and see things as they are, not as they would have wished to see them".

The excerpts of the secret report of Mr Richard Meyer before the Council of NATO, sent in the letter to the bureau of the BULGARIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY in Bonn, contain analyses of the activity of members of Turkish terrorist organizations, which are currently in other countries. "These personalities pose a threat to the internal security of the countries whose hospitality they are enjoying. One of them was Ali Agca."

Further on it is stressed in the secret report of Mr Richard Meyer that members of the Turkish terrorist organizations are active in twenty eight countries. "With sums obtained through robberies and along other channels, the terrorists have organized a number of trading firms which serve as a cover to their activity, as connections, for the printing of organizational documents, as store-houses for weapons and other materials, for the financing of the organizations" reads the report.

It is said further on in the report of Mr Richard Meyer read at the NATO Council session: "There is no evidence whatsoever to suppose that there exists an international terrorist network to guide terrorist actions around the world, neither are there any proofs that the Soviet Union plays a leading part in terrorism. It is known though, that the countries of the Soviet block are training terrorists and are rendering material aid to separate terrorist organizations, though for the time being there is no evidence that some of them has participated in an action in NATO member-countries.... The investigations of the Italian authorities in connection with the papal attempted assassination ended in the conclusion that Ali Agca has acted on his own free will and initiative" reads the report of Mr Richard Meyer.

Commenting on the letter to the bureau of the BULGARIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY in Bonn and on the excerpts from the report of Mr Meyer, today's OTECHESTVEN FRONT writes in an editorial note that in NATO, too, at closed doors they see what the reality is, but outside their secret meetings and for the consummation of the public, in order to discredit socialism in a noisy manner they speak and propagate that the socialist countries are organizing and maintaining terrorism in the West, that the Bulgarians have been involved in the attempt on the life of the pope.

"An obviously honest citizen of the Federal Republic of Germany exposes the NATO slander with a NATO document" writes in conclusion today's OTECHESTVEN FRONT.

BULGARIAN JOURNALIST DEFENDS ANTONOV IN LE MONDE

PM081627 Paris LE MONDE in French 3 Mar 83 p 4

[Article by Bulgarian journalist Nino Ninov: "In Defense of Antonov"]

[Text] Several steps have just been taken in the escalation of the Bulgarian connection. Following the "revelations" by former Italian trade unionist Scricciolo, it is not surprising that the inexhaustible Agca should start to confess his intention to kill Lech Walesa for the Bulgarians, too. Were the Sofia secret services so short-staffed that they had to employ the same Turkish terrorist to kill both the pope and Walesa?

Let us also remember the controversy which arose at the end of February between Bulgarian Government spokesman Traykov and the examining magistrate's office in Rome. It related in particular to alterations in Agca's evidence after Antonov's lawyers had established some of their client's alibis. For example, the Turk had initially maintained that the Bulgarian was beside him at the moment of the attack. After consideration he now says that his companion had left him 2 hours earlier. This is a disturbing fact in that Agca, who is being kept in solitary confinement, is not supposed to know anything about Antonov's alibis.

Through all these ups and downs the question remains unanswered: Has the Sofia government behaved like a gangster? It is pointless to repeat that the Eastern bloc countries regarded Solidarity's spiritual father as a troublemaker. You always have trouble with somebody. If that was a reason for killing people there would be no civilized society or international community. Nonetheless, let us see whether John Paul II was as much of a nuisance as that.

First, let us note that everybody is not telling the same story. What is termed the Bulgarian connection is based entirely on Agca's late confessions. The latter now dates his participation in the plot as from 11 July 1980. In view of the minimum time required to pass on such a decision to the agents' level, the decision must have been taken around the end of June 1980. At that time nothing was happening in Poland. The Gierek government felt so secure that it was going to increase meat prices -- which would have repercussions. Solidarity came much later.

It is the inconsistency of the political analysis which is even more striking than the incoherence of the allegations. Of course the head of the Catholic Church certainly intended his pontificate to be seen as a source of comfort by the faithful in Poland, but he refrained from portraying himself as a refuge. Moreover, it is difficult to see what the parties involved would have gained from an international crisis over Poland. At most it would have prompted some Western countries to seek some "compensation" for which distant countries would have paid; however, such a deal had every reason to displease the Polish pope. Thus, the church preferred the strategy of dialogue to the strategy of rupture which seemed to seduce Solidarity's leading wing for a while. Reason of state is said to be deaf. Is it blind, too? What other pope would have done more to spare the Poles civil war?

And then why should the Bulgarians be involved in all that? There is no dispute between Sofia and the Holy See; quite the reverse. There are relations characterized by respect and good will which date from a time when Bulgaria was the link between the Bzyantine world and the Roman world. The excellent nature of these relations had led people to say that in the "division of labor" among the Eastern bloc countries Bulgaria's mission was to seduce the Vatican. Could it have been given another mission so unlike the first?

Finally, leaving the states aside, there are men. Antonov is living with the anxiety of the unknown in prison. Who is he? A lover of the good life, a madman, or a programmed robot? People ought to have some idea since he was under surveillance; however, nobody seems to be interested. People scarcely bother to wonder why he stayed in Rome when the net was tightening around the Bulgarian connection, loudly exposed on the other side of the Atlantic.

This man who did not seem destined for fame, has become a star and nobody knows how to get rid of him. If the case is dismissed amid doubt he would be denied justice. An innocent person is only really cleared when you have the guilty parties. They exist. Remember the piece of evidence (the only one) -- the photograph taken in St Peter's Square. Somebody had drawn around a man alleged to be Antonov. That person is guilty. Light must be shed on all aspects of this shady affair. Would this be asking too much of the Italian judges?

BALEV RETURNS HOME FROM 16TH PCI CONGRESS

AU081913 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 8 Mar 83

[Text] Comrade Milko Balev has returned home from Milan, where he attended the 16th PCI Congress.

FARM SELF-SUFFICIENCY, PRIVATE PLOTS PROMOTED

AU031453 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 2 Mar 83

[Georgi Avramov commentary: "Five Years Later"]

[Text] The fifth year that has elapsed since the introduction of the self-sufficiency system in supplying the population with foodstuffs has proved particularly fruitful. Over 33,000 tons of meat, 112 million liters of milk, 75 million eggs, and 69,000 tons of vegetables have been produced as compared with 1981. This has contributed to the stability and undisturbed development of the domestic market.

All these successes have become possible thanks to the constant perfection of the self-sufficiency system. Uniform planning was introduced for agricultural enterprises in the public sector and for auxiliary farms and private plots. The agroindustrial complexes were entrusted with organizing the production and purchase of foodstuffs. Measures were adopted to offer greater material incentives to the farmers. They are now more regularly supplied with all necessary basic materials. A total of 20,000 decares of derelict plots have been reallocated. Quantities of grain fodder were distributed according to plan; the same applies to the distribution of sows, pigs, and poultry, as well as to the allocation of lambs and calves for fattening. The needs for sowing materials were fully covered by supplying the farmers with over 5 million orchard saplings and over 1.5 million vine seedlings.

Instruction No 1 of the Council of Ministers (issued in March 1982) provides the self-sufficiency system with a solid norm-governed basis. From the level of conurbation systems, the self-sufficiency system has developed and spread throughout entire okrugs. All the necessary conditions were ensured for the accomplishment of the task assigned by the 12th BCP Congress as regards the population's regular supply with foodstuffs throughout the year.

A joint meeting held by the BCP Central Committee, the Council of Ministers and the mass organizations' leaderships on the implementation of the December program was devoted to further improvement of the self-sufficiency system. The meeting assigned the task, by the end of the current 5-year plan period, to cover the needs of the okrugs with food supplies from their own production.

Additional measures are now being adopted throughout the country for the accomplishment of this task as early as in 1983. Private plots for the cultivation of beans, onions, potatoes, and vegetables are being allocated.

Greatest importance is being attributed to a priority implementation of the okrugs' commitments toward the cnetral state funds. Everything else that is produced within the okrug's self-sufficiency sector remains on the territory of the respective okrug for the needs of its inhabitants. The greater the quantities that are produced, the more goods can be put on the market for the local population.

Integration between agroindustrial complexes and auxiliary farms attached to enterprises and administrative departments is more and more confidently asserting itself. This offers particular advantages to small and unprofitable auxiliary farms. The enterprises are participating in production with their own materials and manpower resources, as well as with their financial resources, while the agroindustrial complexes are supplying seeds, fertilizers, the equipment for soil cultivation, and so forth. The Devnya complex is setting a positive example in this respect. Entire branch auxiliary farms are attached to this enterprise. Many vegetables and great quantities of fruit are produced in these farms, which also engage in large-scale animal breeding.

It is now particularly important everywhere to implement Comrade Todor Zhivkov's instruction that every Bulgarian citizen who is willing to cultivate the soil and to breed animals should be given an opportunity to do so. The necessary prerequisites exist for the implementation of this initiative. In nearly all okrugs (and in the mountainous regions, particularly) there are thousands of decares of derelict and inefficiently used arable land. These plots should be allocated to citizens -- especially in the outskirts of Sofia and other large cities. The review of private plots organized by the Fatherland Front National Council and the Agroindustrial Union can also greatly contribute to this task. It can produce an improvement in the supplies with seeds, fertilizers, breeding, and fattening animals, as well as in soil cultivation in the promotion of plant protection measures, etc.

The system of purchasing goods produced by the private plots needs considerable improvement. We must create more favorable conditions in this respect in order to facilitate the farmers' work. The okrug cooperative unions and consumer cooperatives have an opportunity to make themselves particularly useful in this case. The latter should consider it their main concern to supply the owners of private plots with everything necessary to facilitate their work.

The place and role of the Fatherland Front organizations in accomplishing this nationwide task are constantly being enhanced. It will greatly depend upon their activities whether an increasing number of citizens will engage in agricultural work in their spare time and during their hours of recreation. The Fatherland Front can greatly enhance the social prestige of those farmers who, with their efforts, not only supply agricultural goods for their own needs, but also for the market. Every citizen's personal participation in the development of the self-sufficiency system must be rewarded with the public recognition he deserves.

BTA on Self-Sufficiency System

AU081031 Sofia BTA in English 0820 GMT 8 Mar 83

[Text] Sofia, March 8 (BTA) -- Five years have elapsed since the decision was made to introduce a system of self-supporting of the population in the settlement systems in Bulgaria with the staple farm products.

Major work was completed in the counties and the settlement systems of the country; more than one hundred thousand hectares of abandoned and low-fertility land was distributed By more than half a million rose the number of the people who started tilling land and breeding cattle in their free time. Almost 4,400 auxiliary farms were set up with the industrial enterprises, other departments and other organizations. The results are unquestionable. In the five years since the introduction of the system (1977-1982) the production of meat rose by more than 100,000 tons, which is by 16 percent, that of milk -- by about 500 million liters (20 per cent), that of eggs -- by 483 million eggs, of fruits -- by 300,000 tons, of vegetables -- by more than 100,000 tons. The production of farm products has been stabilized and is now rising at never failing rates, the supply of the population has improved and the home market is stocked with foodstuffs of all and every kind.

A major contribution to this development was made by the decrees of the Ministerial Council of 1981 and 1982 which helped to ensure the necessary normative conditions for the translating of this system into an economic background. There were ensured and strengthened the links between the agro-industrial complexes and the private farms, with the complexes not only taking the whole responsibility for the purchase of the products of the private farms, but taking the obligation as well to till the land and to supply both private and auxiliary farms with seeds, fertilizers, etc. Naturally this is carried out on a contractual basis under the conditions of mutual profit and interest.

The aim of the system is to achieve such a state of affairs in which by the end of the eighth five-year period, which is by the end of 1985, all the counties will be self-supporting themselves with the staple foodstuffs of a local produce. Exceptions will be made for those products alone which are economically unprofitable to be grown on spot. In such cases on the basis of the contracts the counties will be able to carry out exchanges of products through the county purchasing organizations.

DATA ON ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH USSR GIVEN

AU091948 Sofia BTA in English 1830 GMT 9 Mar 83

["Bulgaria-USSR: Annual Trade to the Tune of 10 Milliard Rubles" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 9 (BTA) -- In 1982 trade between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union amounted to about 9 milliard rubles. It is expected that this year bilateral trade will go up to 10 milliard rubles. These data were reported today by the trade representative of the Soviet Union to Bulgaria, Mr Valentin Dyakov, who spoke at a meeting of the members of the Bulgaro-Soviet Press Club with the Union of Bulgarian Journalists. The meeting was called to mark the 35th anniversary of the signing of the first Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid Treaty between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union is Bulgaria's biggest trading partner and more than half the foreign trade of Bulgaria is carried out with the Soviet Union. Bulgaria for her part is USSR's third most significant trading partner. This year Bulgaro-Soviet trade will amount to about 9 percent of the entire foreign trade of the Soviet Union. Hopeful are the prospects lying ahead of Bulgaro-Soviet economic relations. If in the years of the seventh 5-year period deliveries went up to 29 milliard rubles, in the 1981-1985 period they are to amount to about 48 milliard rubles. Bulgaro-Soviet trading and economic ties are characterized by growing intensification of the integration ties, with an ever wider application of specialization and cooperation. At present the two countries are implementing 30 bilateral and 120 multilateral specialization and cooperation agreements. The deliveries consisting of products turned out along [word indistinct] of specialization and cooperation constituted more than 50 percent of the total trade.

STROUGAL REPORTEDLY HAS 'SERIOUS ILLNESS'

NC101955 Paris AFP in English 1914 GMT 10 Mar 83

[Text] Prague, March 10 (AFP) -- Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal has been virtually unavailable since February because of a "serious" illness, informed sources here said today.

An official source confirmed that Mr Strougal, 58, was "sick" but would not give details. The premier's absence from the public eye was first noted on February 2 when he missed a planned meeting with visiting West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. Since then, he has appeared in public only once on February 24 for the 35th anniversary of the 1948 revolution, and was conspicuously absent from an official line-up for Women's Day Tuesday. The sources said he underwent a gall bladder operation in January, 1980, and must have another operation.

DAILY COMMENTS ON SENATE APPROVAL OF ABRAMOWITZ

AU101156 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 Mar 83 p 7

[CTK Washington dispatch "(BZ)"-signed commentary: "Immediately following the Report; They Will Not Avoid Answering"]

[Text] Washington (CTK) -- The U.S. Senate has approved the appointment of Morton Abramowitz as head of the U.S. delegation to the Vienna negotiations on reducing the strength of armed forces and arms in central Europe. In this post he will be replacing Richard Staar, whose resignation had been enforced by the Reagan government.

In this way Reagan's nominee for new chief of the Vienna delegation was "more successful" than his nomination of Kenneth Adelman to the post of director of the American Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, replacing the recalled Eugene Rostow. The Senate is refusing to approve Adelman for this post not only because of his "inefficiency and ignorance of problems," as is officially stated, but also because -- apart from his insufficient competency -- Adelman is a proponent of arms escalation and of a "harsh policy" toward the Soviet Union; in brief, Adelman is a "hawk." And the American public maintains a negative attitude toward them. Reagan recalled Rostow and Staar merely because they had begun expressing opinions showing what can be called at least a slight inclination toward compromise agreements with the Soviet Union, because they had begun urging the government to pursue a more flexible policy at the Geneva and Vienna negotiations. But even the new head of the American delegation in Vienna, Abramowitz, will be unable to avoid the reality. The Warsaw Pact's proposals are lying on the roundtable -- the Political Declaration, the proposal to cut back troop strengths to less than 900,000 men on both sides and so forth. These proposals cannot be ignored, and Abramowitz will have to take a stand on them.

POPE'S CENTRAL AMERICAN JOURNEY CRITICIZED

AU101402 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 Mar 83 p 7

[Milan Rusko article in column "Word on Events": "Confronting Reality"]

[Text] The first stops on the seven-leg journey of Pope Paul John II through the countries of Central America and the Caribbean could have sufficiently acquainted him with the political reality and convinced him that the journey which the Vatican publicized as "the triumph of love, mutual understanding and peace" will not fulfill the expectations of the Holy See.

In San Jose, Costa Rica, the pope limited himself to generally noting the reality which everyone knows anyway, and on the whole he called on no one in particular for a "dialogue which would bring peace." The international progressive public waited in vain for changes in his "flight schedule" following the murder of six young patriots in Guatemala. But this did not dissuade John Paul II from becoming the guest of the bloody dictator Rios Montt. The annual balance sheet of the policy of this executioner of the Guatemalan people shows more than 10,000 human lives. Special tribunals pronounce further death sentences daily and the police and the Army are escalating genocide. Patriots have united themselves in the Guatemalan Revolutionary National Unity, an organization which has spread guerrilla warfare to almost two-thirds of the territory. It is typical that neither American instructors nor the American gift -- military equipment deliveries to the tune of 120 million -- have succeeded in changing the situation in favor of the pro-Washington dictator. Weakening the combat-ability of the patriots -- this is the only way to characterize the pope's appeals that the people "desist from violence and bloodshed." Not a word was addressed to the culprits -- the fascist regime and its American supporters, not a word about the violation of human rights. No wonder that this stance of the "holy father" met with profound disagreement and not a little irony. The West German daily SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG quoted a commentary by the Catholic organization Peace Christian Movement which described the beginning of the pope's journey through Central America as a "slap in the face of the holy father and our humanitarian organization."

Not without justification. The pope, with his appeals for reconciliation between patriots and the fascist regime through concessions and betrayal of revolutionary ideals in fulfillment of which thousands of people have given their lives, has won neither trust nor popularity. Broad strata of the population, and not only Catholic-oriented, noted that he asked for moderation, a ceasefire, "acceptance of fate" from one side only. It is as thought his "gospel" did not concern the ruling stratum of the rich.

With whom, then, did the pope come to express the solidarity about which he spoke prior to his journey? Or does his "pastoral care for the suffering in Central America" rest in what he calls humility, obedience, and p a t i e n c e [spacing of word as published], as he did with the Guatemalan Indians? Entire Indian villages are being exterminated during the Army's "mop up" operations; in the middle of February, Guatemalan journalist Julia Esquivel submitted evidence about more than 200 cases to the UN Commission for Human Rights in Geneva. "You will get your reward after death" -- the pope promises them during his Central American journey, precisely the same way the church did in the middle ages.

But in Central America, too, the 20th century has already arrived. In Nicaragua, in particular, he could convince himself of that. The local people have taken the cause of their future firmly in their hands and have already become convinced that a victory over an exploiting oligarchy of hirelings and a fascist regime can be achieved only through an uncompromising revolutionary struggle. To the sweet speeches of the supreme dignitary of the Catholic church the Nicaraguan people reacted with slogans such as: We want peace! They will not get through! And they did this so loudly that the pope had to interrupt his speeches more than once. "At least he knows what our people think" -- emphasized one of the representatives of those Catholics who have actively joined in the construction of a new, independent, and democratic Nicaragua.

In the Central and Latin American countries, part of the Catholic clergy has taken the side of the democratic currents in political life. The Vatican has considerable objections to this. It regards as loyal only those who are against political, social, and economic changes, against progressive revolutionary trends in development. With his journey, the pope wants to "herd" the first ones "back into the fold" and to strengthen the others' positions.

But it is already obvious that he will not succeed in fulfilling these objectives. After all, not once did he stand up for the millions of "his faithful" whom the fascist regimes deny even such fundamental rights as the right to life.

RUDE PRAVO ANALYZES FRG ELECTIONS, IMPACT

AU101146 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Mar 83 p 7

[Jan Kovarik commentary: "FRG: a Shift to the Right"]

[Excerpts] The results of the West German parliamentary elections mean a further shift of West German policy to the right. The government remains in the hands of the CDU/CSU clericalist parties, which -- thanks to their coalition with the liberal Free Democratic Party [FDP] -- will have a sufficient majority in the new Bundestag. The opposition Social Democratic Party [SPD], which will have 25 fewer seats than at present, suffered a bitter defeat. A completely new phenomenon of the West German elections are the so-called Greens, or environmentalists, who have been elected to the Bundestag for the first time.

The elections reflect an apparent shift of values in West German society following the collapse of the SPD/FDP coalition government led by Chancellor Schmidt. Owing to its opportunistic attitude to major West German problems, the Social Democrats' policy has lost credit in the eyes of the broad public. The CDU and CSU capitalized on the discontent among the public. Even though they know no other way out of these problems than drastic cuts in the social budget, they were able -- displaying a great deal of demagogy -- to fully exploit the wave of discontent and fear of the future.

One segment of former SPD voters, those that were disillusioned with the party's approach to the key issue of peace and security -- the deployment of new American intermediate-range nuclear missiles in the FRG and other West European states -- turned away from the Social Democrats. This segment of the West German public realizes that more weapons do not mean more security. Young people especially have drawn from this conviction the conclusion that they must seek a mainstay for their ideas elsewhere, with the "Greens." These do not share the same views on some social and political problems but, as far as the U.S. missile deployment issue is concerned, they are fundamentally opposed to it. With the "Greens" entering the Bundestag, people demanding a new approach to the country's security have undoubtedly gained another important -- parliamentary -- platform.

A certain role in the elections was played by the traditional political mechanism. As a rule, it benefits, and not inconsiderably, the party that provides the chancellor. When it comes to voting, some undecided voters tend to opt for the chancellor's party. In addition, the entrepreneurs' threat that in the event of Kohl's defeat and the SPD's victory they would not make available tens of thousands of training slots and would begin laying off even more people also had a place in the CDU/CSU's election strategy. Moreover, before the election Kohl met with trade union (DGB) representatives to present himself as a "friend" of the workers.

Characteristic of the West German election campaign was anticommunism and the spirit of hateful wrath. CDU representatives even went so far as to issue a slogan claiming that "a decent German can only vote for the CDU/CSU." They portrayed the Social Democrats as almost being communists so as to capitalize on the anticommunist and antisocialist propaganda that has been nourished for many years. All this was designed to bring about the conviction that a progressive person is not "decent" and therefore cannot be elected.

Communists were exposed to a particularly hateful campaign and discrimination. In order to register their candidates, they had to collect some 80,000 signatures from all over the FRG. Each of these signatures signifies personal courage because the signatory will end up in the file of suspicious persons kept by the political police or the so-called Agency for the Protection of the Constitution. Communists had limited access to poster advertising space, were excluded from participation in preelection television and radio discussions, and many candidates of the German Communist Party [DKP] were threatened with a public employment ban only because they dared to make use of a right that is guaranteed by the FRG Constitution. In Bavaria, some DKP members were even arrested while collecting signatures.

The coming of the "Greens" to the parliament is undoubtedly a success for the environmentalist movement. Although their preelection plans are known, only the following months will show how they will come to terms with the machinery of the FRG parliament and how they will respond to the problems discussed in the Bundestag. They are unambiguous opponents of the deployment of new American weapons. They went further with their demands than the SPD, which demanded of the United States "constructive talks" with the Soviet Union in Geneva. True, the SPD rejected the "automatic deployment of missiles" in the event of the talks' failure, but it has never spoken out against NATO's so-called decision on military augmentation of December 1979, which was coauthored by SPD representatives..

Before the election, the CDU/CSU, FDP and SPD were declaring in unison that they consider reestablishing full employment as their number-one task. However, the winners will not bother to act on this promise because, election or no election, profit is the most important law for entrepreneurs and bankers. Everything is being subordinated to this law and the government on the Rhine, too, will not dare not to respect the voice of the most powerful ones. After Sunday, the shares of the largest enterprises, especially those manufacturing arms, are bound to increase in value because the new government program will undoubtedly keep them in mind.

After the announcement of the preliminary West German election results, satisfaction set in overseas. In the course of the election campaign, the White House sent more than one emissary to the FRG because it wanted no changes in the Schaumburg Palace, the chancellor's residence. Some time ago Chancellor Kohl vowed loyalty to the United States and President Reagan associated this loyalty, above all, with his stand on armament.

Chancellor Kohl's Federal Government at the same time declared that it is in favor of neighborly cooperation with the socialist states. In the Prague declaration, the socialist states presented concrete proposals for talks. It is now up to the FRG Government to turn its preelection statements into deeds. Even after the elections, the FRG remains in central Europe and the problems of this area continue to affect it directly.

HUSAK PRESENTS AWARD TO PARTY OFFICIAL

LD100038 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 9 Mar 83

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, today in Prague presented the Order of Victorious February to Jaroslav Molek, head of the Party Central Committee Department, on the occasion of his 60th birthday. The high state distinction was awarded to him for his long years of active work for the benefit of the CPCZ and the socialist society.

CONCLUDING PARTS OF LUDOVIT PEZLAR ARTICLE

Part II

AU080935 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 4 Mar 83 p 3

[Second part of an article by Ludovit Pezlar, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPSL Central Committee: "The Exacerbation of Ideological Struggle in the World and the Psychological Warfare of Imperialism Against Real Socialism"; Part I is published in the 7 March Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT, page D 1; uppercase passages published in boldface]

[Text] Ideological diversion differs from ideological warfare in that it does not rest on the confrontation of ideas, but on the intentional and knowing spreading of lies and fabrications whose purpose is to cast doubt on the sincerity of intentions and the ideological armament of the adversary. This method is being extensively practiced by bourgeois propaganda. Bourgeois propagandists distinguish between "white" and "black" propaganda (some even speak of a "gray" propaganda). By "white" propaganda they understand tendentious interpretations of official materials and standpoints. "Black" propaganda means spreading inventions and fabricating untrue information. This is the main direction of the current anticommunist propaganda. It is trying with fabrications to make people living under capitalism fear any social changes and, in the relations with the citizens of the socialist countries, its aim is to disturb their social awareness by casting doubts on the values of socialism. Bourgeois theoreticians are constantly perfecting the mechanism of ideological diversion: From primitive arguments they are increasingly switching to more cunning methods. Just as Bishop Skrabik, in the brochure "Red Slovakia" once scared people by saying that women would become national property under socialism, today the masters of anticommunist propaganda are constructing cunning models of a "democratic," "pluralist," or "positive" socialism and are veiling diversion with scientific terminology. The fundamental feature of the propaganda of the socialist countries is the truth, and therefore it does not need and on principle rejects ideological diversion.

Ideological diversion, together with other forms of diversion (economic and political sanctions, credit blockades, armed provocations, and so forth) is one of the main instruments of psychological warfare. Although this is not everything, one can say that psychological warfare is a system of extensively affecting the minds and the psyche of people, based on the intentional spreading of lies, connected with an extensive use of the findings of modern social psychology -- an effort to influence their activity in a programmed direction desirable for its organizers who are preparing a military confrontation! What is involved is an attempt to manipulate people, their minds, and their psyche on a mass scale, with the aid of a system of ideological, political, economic, and military subversive actions.

Bourgeois theoreticians have devoted much attention to working out the issues of psychological warfare. Some authors call it a "political" war! It is typical that these issues have been studied mainly on the Pentagon's order. Psychological warfare was part of the 1948 Dropshot plan, which envisaged nuclear attack on the Soviet Union. Various bourgeois authors agree in essence on the following definition of the objectives of psychological warfare: Demoralization of the potential adversary, undermining his faith in his ideology and forcing on him one's own behavioral concepts.

Psychological warfare was part of the "cold war" and its objective -- according to President Eisenhower -- was to ensure victory without the loss of human lives. In NATO publications the objectives of psychological warfare are mostly defined as using any -- nonlethal -- instruments to achieve military objectives. Its function, as the authors emphasize, is to influence the moral makeup and behavior not only of the adversary but of any social group.

Psychological warfare is not a new phenomenon. It was extensively used by German fascists when they were preparing and carrying out their aggressive plans. To this day bourgeois theoreticians quote Goebbels, the chief of Nazi propaganda, who used to say that a lie must be sufficiently big for people to believe it.

What are the special characteristics of present-day psychological warfare waged by the reactionary forces of imperialism against real socialism?

These are, above all: The unprecedented extensive use of the findings of scientific research and the proliferation of special institutions devoting themselves to ideological diversion; the participation of leading statesmen in unleashing it, such as President Reagan and Prime Minister Thatcher; the endeavor to make it global; the implementation of the so-called "big" projects of ideological diversion and its inseparable links to the preparations for military aggression against the socialist countries.

From the viewpoint of the present-day scientific-technical revolution, we are witnessing a certain anomaly: The results of the development of science and technology are being extensively used to spread lies and disinformation. This paradox stems from capitalist production relations, which throw the scientific technical revolution off course, and falls into the framework of the misuse of its results by monopoly capital, above all by the military-industrial complex.

At present we are witnessing the broadbased efforts of the reactionary forces of imperialism to carry the ideological struggle to the sphere of psychological warfare.

Perhaps the most telling example of a "big lie" and perhaps of the entire "system of lies" proceeding from the objectives of psychological warfare is the current campaign by the bourgeois mass information and propaganda media about the so-called Soviet military threat! Its immediate objective is to distort facts and with arrant fabrications prepare the population of the capitalist countries for sacrifices connected with another round of arms buildup, subjugate its opposition to this lunatic policy, and create long-term conditions for the realization of the fundamental objective of imperialism: the liquidation of the world socialist system. This policy puts mankind on the verge of extinction in the flames of nuclear war. The myth about the Soviet military threat is to prevent millions-strong masses from finding their orientation in the fundamental contexts of present-day international developments and to conceal the real culprit in the nuclear lunacy.

The psychological warfare against Czechoslovakia could be another example. Last year, the mass information media of the capitalist countries began asserting that the state bodies in our fatherland started a large scale persecution of believers. How far the fantasy of the authors of slanderous campaigns can go is attested to by a report circulated last year by a West German Catholic news agency, according to which some believers had found glass in their toothpaste. Other jokers have been filling the air with hair-raising fabrications about murders of priests ordered by secret tribunals. Actually, exactly the opposite is true: The Vatican has launched an extensive attack on our state whose objective is to change church conditions in our country in accordance with the "Polish model." It is no secret what that means. The recent campaign by the bourgeois ideodiversionary media, which depicted our fatherland as an asylum and arsenal for all terrorists, also ended in a fiasco. The fact that the ideological struggle knows neither borders nor neutrality is attested to by the increasing activity of the "East Europe desk" of the Austrian radio and television in psychological warfare against Czechoslovakia. Its employees openly ignore even the endeavor by their country's government for normal neighborly relations.

The latest hit by "black" propaganda is the fairy tale about the participation of Bulgarian citizens in the unsuccessful attempt on the life of Pope John Paul II carried out by Turkish neofascist Ali Agca. And we could go on and on.

In the current anticommunist propaganda, two priorities have clearly come to the fore: slandering real socialism and anti-Sovietism. This orientation logically stems from the unpopularity of capitalism, which only a few -- including bourgeois statesmen -- now dare to defend, and from the growing appeal of the socialist social system.

Because the Soviet Union is economically, politically, and militarily the strongest socialist state, the organizers of psychological warfare are aiming the brunt of their attacks primarily against it. SINCE THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION, THE SOVIET PEOPLE HAVE BEEN CARRYING ON THEIR SHOULDERS THE DECISIVE BURDEN OF THE STRUGGLES OF NATIONS AGAINST IMPERIALISM. THE SOVIET UNION IS THE MAINSTAY OF THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND PROGRESS. In this context the following merciless logic applies in the present-day world: He who adheres to an anti-Soviet orientation is an objective ally of imperialism, no matter what he says about himself. It is not at all difficult to imagine how reaction in the world would rage if the imperialist bourgeoisie did not have to respect the reality, such as the Soviet Union and its allies. THEREFORE, A RESOLUTE STRUGGLE AGAINST ANY PHENOMENA OF ANTI-SOVIETISM IS THE ORDER OF THE DAY, AN URGENT DUTY OF ALL PROGRESSIVE FORCES.

The so-called theory of pluralism is acquiring increasing importance in the theoretical armament of the authors of the current psychological warfare. According to this theory there is some sort of "iron law" of pluralism which accords the right to existence only to "pluralistic" societies. It condemns all others as "totalitarian!" This propaganda trick makes it possible to throw into the same bag the socialist countries and fascist military dictatorships in Latin America, which stay alive mainly thanks to the support of imperialism, above all, that of the U.S. Government.

The notion of pluralism emerged in philosophy. It proceeds from the idea that there are several principles of existence and that they are independent of one another and non-transferable. The bourgeois theoreticians have elaborated this principle into the theory of ideological, economic, and political pluralism. They demand that in the ideological sphere various ideologies be allowed to coexist under identical conditions, in politics various political parties, in the economy various sectors, and so forth. The highest ideal of the defenders of pluralism is bourgeois democracy.

In the first place one has to emphasize that the very theory of pluralism is unscientific. It puts scientific ideology and unscientific ideology on the same level. Not all ideologies provide a true reflection of the world, not all are correct. It is understandable that the proponents of pluralism ignore the objectively existing class division of the capitalist society, intentionally conceal the fact that in the most perfect bourgeois democracy, too, the reins of power are in the hands of a small group of representatives of monopoly capital. The persecution of progressive forces attests to the fact that the ruling bourgeois circles do not adhere to "pluralism," and when they suddenly see that the mechanism of bourgeois democracy does not fulfill its main function aimed at maintaining their rule, they do not even hesitate to go over to overt dictatorship. Without their support the overwhelming majority of the antipeople military dictatorships in various continents would fall. The role played by American monopolies and the U.S. Government in establishing General Pinochet's bloody regime in Chile is well known. The military regime in Turkey also depends on the support of the NATO countries.

The theory of pluralism is a favorite instrument of bourgeois policy and propaganda in the struggle against the countries of real socialism. It is the foundation of the doctrine preaching the need for the so-called "second" or "alternative" economy, ideology, culture, the alternative trade union movement, and similar things. For example, granting credits to the socialist countries is increasingly subject to various conditions (the so-called linkage), such as reviving the private sector which is to become an alternative to the social sector in economy. The masters of psychological warfare like to say that all problems in the economy of the socialist countries stem from the fact that the economy is not "pluralist" and see the only way out in restoring the private sector and in the ever increasing activity of the market mechanism. At the same time monopoly capital rules the economy of the advanced capitalist countries and small-scale manufacturers do not constitute an alternative to the mammoth companies and have no equal conditions for their activity. The tip of the "pluralistic" spear aims directly at the heart of the socialist economy: at the state sector and central planning.

In the political sphere these theoreticians demand the creation of an "alternative" political power, in other words, of "alternative power structures" that would actually mean permitting the activity of an antisocialist counterrevolutionary opposition. Some time ago various "clubs" had to fulfill such a function in Czechoslovakia as the Social Self-Defense Committee (KOR) and the infamous "Solidarity" did in the Polish People's Republic. Religion was to become an alternative ideology within the framework of "ideological and trade union pluralism." Imperialist centers see a promising embyro of counterrevolutionary political opposition in the activity of isolated little groups of antisocialist-oriented elements appearing under the foxy name of "dissidents." They are generously funded by capitalists abroad, and the organizers of psychological warfare immediately give wide publicity to any dissatisfied person willing to slander his fatherland and throw mud on the socialist social system. As if by a wave of a magic wand, completely insignificant people become "prominent" artists, scientists, or publicists overnight. Since psychological warfare has to be incessantly fueled with fabrications, emigres of various hues are accorded extensive support when they are willing to come forward with fairy tales about their political persecution.

In this connection one has to underscore that the imperialist centers have never been interested in any improvement of the socialist social system within the framework of some sort of "pluralism." They have always been striving to establish an opposition which would be the bearer of counterrevolutionary changes. Therefore, no "opposition" glorified by them has a positive program of construction in any socialist country. It has never pointed to any positive solutions to resolve the topical issues of their further development. It has always fed only on the real existing problems and difficulties. Its program was and is destruction, subversion as the path of return to the capitalist social system. Therefore, it is not even a sort of "opposition" in the general sense of the word. This was fully demonstrated in Hungary in 1956, in Czechoslovakia in the 1968-69 period and in Poland in the 1980-81 period. The relationship of foreign centers to this group of people has its established rules; should they for any reason at all stop fulfilling their subversive function these centers will lose interest in them and let them slide into oblivion.

Part III

AU081034 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 5 Mar 83 p 3

[The third and last part of an article by Ludovit Pezlar, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPSL Central Committee: "Exacerbation of Ideological Struggle and the Psychological War of Imperialism Against Real Socialism"; passages in uppercase published in boldface]

[Text] The significance ascribed to the formation and activity of the so-called "opposition" in the socialist countries in the counterrevolutionary plans of the imperialist centers is shown by the program of democracy and public diplomacy, which was launched recently in Washington with huge publicity. This document is the outcome of several consultations by representatives of state agencies and various scientific-research institutions studying the problems of the East. The most important of these meetings was held toward the end of last year under the name of "Conference on the Problems of Democratizing Communist Parties." It was declared secret and the main speech was delivered by U.S. Secretary of State Shultz. Under the pretext of "defending democracy," the authors of the above document usurp the right of interfering in the internal affairs of other countries. They determined specific targets and methods of subversive activity, which are to result in the formation of the appropriate "infrastructure of democracy" all over the world. This program is directed not only against the socialist countries but against all states which the U.S. Administration considers "undemocratic." The motley forms of subversion, including ideological subversion, are thus assuming a global character.

Because the cultural sphere is the subject of the ideological-subversive centers' particular attention, we must say a few words about the concept of "cultural pluralism."

At the UNESCO-sponsored world conference on cultural policy held in Mexico last July and August, Jean Gerard, the U.S. delegation head, propagated this doctrine, claiming that it is the best guarantee of "cultural" democracy. She demanded the greatest possible scope for "private initiative" in culture. Most delegates present rejected the U.S. delegation's proposals. Some delegates pointed out with full justification that concealed behind the pretentious cloak of "pluralism" is the ominous "cultural imperialism." Even J. Lang, the French minister of culture, drew attention to the fact that he who has control of mass information media in the world can impose its model on other nations. This phenomenon is known as "cultural colonialism." Both of these terms are justified as they express the endeavor of imperialism to exercise control over the sphere of people's cultural life by means of a flood of pseudoculture publicizing racism, brute force, individualism, selfishness, man's helplessness, etc. In what directions is the psychological war against Czechoslovakia developing?

Experience fully confirms the veracity of the words of Gus Hall, secretary general of the Communist Party of the United States: "Imperialism has a special action plan and a special emergency plan for every socialist country." These plans are very amorphous and the centers are incessantly modifying and improving them in accordance with the specific conditions of every country. Naturally, these plans are not being made public, but an analysis of the situation makes it possible to draw attention to the main features of the course followed vis-a-vis individual countries.

As far as Czechoslovakia is concerned, the organizers of psychological warfare attribute special importance to making use of the churches, especially the Catholic Church. Last year was a period of intense Vatican pressure on the Catholic hierarchy aimed at engaging it in a conflict with the state. The "Reagan phenomenon" is inseparably connected with the "Wojtyla phenomenon." It was no accident that in this connection, the U.S. NEWS WORLD REPORT called the present pope a "Reagan man."

As we have already mentioned, the accompanying feature of and some sort of an ideological cover for this action was a propaganda campaign against the Czechoslovak state. The attack was aimed against the Pacem in Terris peace association of Catholic clergy, which -- because of its activities for peace and positive attitude to socialism — is a thorn in the flesh of the organizers of psychological warfare. The Vatican strategists were inspired by the "Polish model" of the position and role of the church in a socialist state. They began to declare that there is no reason why these relations should be arranged differently in Czechoslovakia than in the Polish People's Republic. To make the church become an antisocialist opposition force, it was, and is, necessary to suppress, at any cost, any manifestation among the clergy of loyalty to the socialist state. The reasons for the attack on Pacem in Terris are thus not religious but political. At the same time, attempts are underway to activate the illegal church underground, the so-called "secret church," which associates antisocialist clericalist elements, starting with religious fanatics among the laity and ending with illegally ordained clergymen and bishops. At present the Vatican "experts" on Czechoslovakia, such as a certain Father Rabas, feverishly deny its existence because the overwhelming majority of believers feels no need for an illegal organization and does not want to have anything in common with "secret" associations.

This entire broad-based attack did not succeed because its organizers failed to take into account several important facts:

-- In contrast to Poland, characteristics of the Czechoslovak rural areas is the socialist cooperative sector. Under such conditions, a clergyman cannot be the central figure of a village. Besides, clergymen are not interested in conflicts with the management of the united cooperative farm and the local agencies of people's power. The united cooperative farms have taken deep roots in the minds of the rural population as a positive aspect of socialism, as its lasting value. It is characteristics that in our rural areas no one attempted to propagate the pope's words in defense of private farming delivered during his visit to Poland.

In contrast to the Polish People's Republic, political clericalism was in power in Slovakia during World War II. By cooperating with German fascism and taking part in its crimes, it suffered a loss of prestige and, in the Slovak national uprising, was rejected once and for all by the working people.

-- Previously, during the "cold war" period, the Vatican forced Czechoslovak Catholicism to come into conflict with the state. Cardinal Beran succumbed to the pressure of Pope Pius XII who excommunicated everyone who "cooperated" with communists. Even the bourgeois press of the time wrote that he, in fact, excommunicated the majority of believers. This conflict could not prevent the building of socialism in our country and finally led to the isolation of the reactionary members of the hierarchy from the believers. The majority of Czechoslovak bishops and clergymen is fully aware of the pernicious consequences a similar conflict would have under present conditions. Our state has no interest in such a conflict and it cannot yield anything good for the church either. It is also rejected by other churches and dignitaries. The only people interested in it are the imperialist centers, the foreign clericalist emigres and the illegal church underground.

Clericalism remains an important factor in the plans of the imperialist centers. It is no coincidence that Vatican propaganda is tenaciously publicizing "martyrdom," allegedly in the interest of the church. In the background, however, are different interests, interests that are tied up with the "Reagan phenomenon."

The attitude of the socialist state to believers was tellingly characterized by the words of Comrade Jozef Lenart, first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, at the CPSL Congress in 1981: "THE ANCIENT RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE AND DISCRIMINATION ARE IRREVERSIBLY A THING OF THE PAST. OUR SOCIALIST STATE GUARANTEES THE EQUALITY OF OUR CITIZENS REGARDLESS OF THEIR ATTITUDE TO RELIGION. WE HIGHLY REGARD THE ACTIVE PARTICIPATION OF BELIEVERS IN BUILDING OUR HOMELAND, WHICH WE VIEW AS PROOF OF OUR PEOPLE'S COMMON INTEREST.... WE ARE WITNESSES OF THE ENDEAVOR OF FOREIGN CLERICALIST, ANTICOMMUNIST CENTERS TO EXPLOIT THE BELIEVERS' RELIGIOUS FEELINGS FOR HOSTILE ACTIVITIES AGAINST OUR SOCIALIST HOMELAND. LEANING ON THE EXPERIENCES OF OUR PEOPLE, THEIR SOCIAL INTERESTS, COHESION AND PROGESSIVE PEACE EFFORTS, WE WILL RESOLUTELY RESIST SUCH OLD-NEW SUBVERSIONS, NO MATTER WHAT FORM THEY TAKE."

Of great significance in psychological warfare is the activation of remnants of the defeated rightwing opportunist and antisocialist forces who present themselves under the false name of "dissidents." Their main function at present is to supply all kinds of slanderous printed matter for anti-Czechoslovak propaganda. The fact that the authors of these hateful pamphlets live in our country is to furnish their slanders with credibility and give them the hallmark of "authenticity." Bourgeois propaganda, for example, carefully concealed the fact that the slanderous Charter 77 pamphlet was signed in Slovakia by only four people -- which certainly is not many. The organizers of psychological warfare describe the tiny group rallied around this counterrevolutionary pamphlet as a "mighty opposition movement."

It is characteristic that completely contradictory fabrications are often being supported, spread and financed by what are, essentially, the self-same sources. For example, the self-styled Committee for the Defense of the Hungarian Nationality's Rights supplies the bouregois mass media with fabrications about the alleged persecution of Hungarians in Slovakia whereas the reactionary Slovak emigre organizations furnish anticommunist propaganda with completely opposite myths about a gradual "Magyarization" of Slovakia.

Decisive importance is being ascribed by the imperialist centers to upsetting the unity between the Czech and Slovak nations as one of the basic social pillars of our state. That is why they are spreading insidious fabrications about which nation, in fact, is the ruling one in our country and who is living at whose expense, although in the Czechoslovak reality such questions are absolutely inconceivable as both nations -- the Czechs and the Slovaks -- have become socialist nations.

They are developing further and their unity is deepening on the basis of socialist internationalism and joint building efforts. The only purpose of such anti-Czechoslovak propaganda is thus to revive the vestiges of nationalism in every possible way, to bring back to life that which once divided our nations and nationalities and which they overcame in the joint struggle against capitalism and fascism and in the joint building of socialism.

It would be incorrect to underestimate the activity of the individuals and small groups with an antisocialist orientation because of their small number and isolation. They are exerting psychological pressure on those who selflessly commit themselves to the policy of the party and the socialist state. Their favorite method is to discredit by means of spreading anonymous printed matter. An important task of both party and state bodies is to effectively protect their aktivs against such treacherous methods.

Among the big lies about Czechoslovakia that are being spread by the organizers of psychological warfare is the argument about the so-called "internal exile" of our population. According to this thesis, during the process of consolidation our people were divided into those who emigrated and into "internal" exiles, who have allegedly concluded a tacit agreement with the party and state leadership -- a high standard of living as a reward for their passivity. Nothing is perhaps as absurd as this assertion. After all, the successes of our country in the last 13 years would have been impossible were it not for the selfless work, the literally everyday work, heroism, and civil and social commitment, of the broad masses of working people. It will perhaps suffice to recall the selfless work of our miners, who frequently sacrifice their leisure hours to ensure the coal needed for our factories and households. The dedication displayed by our farmers in overcoming adverse weather conditions is known. However, all this does not interest the organizers of anti-Czechoslovak campaigns. They regard solely and exclusively destructive activity as activity.

The unusually primitive character of the anti-Czechoslovak propaganda is, for example, borne out by the fact that, in the sphere of culture, it regards as valuable works of art only products that run counter to the cultural policy of the party and the state. Any pamphlet is immediately hailed as being of exceptional value. For example, the populist [ludacky] emigre Kirschbaum has stated in his English-language book "Slovak Language and Slovak Literature" that valuable works of literature are being written only abroad. He presents just any short story written by an emigre as having great "value." The imagination of the reactionary emigres really knows no limit. This is shown by the statement that the works of emigres and "dissidents" -- consisting mostly of hateful pamphlets -- represent the main current of our literary development today.

Among bourgeois ideologues there is no lack of those who specialize in Czechoslovak affairs. As an example, we can cite the works of the Canadian Professor Gordon Skilling. In his books he pays considerable attention to the analysis of the 1968-69 crisis-ridden period, which he regards not as a counterrevolution but as a "revolution." He examines the possibilities of again forming in our country, with the support of imperialist centers, "parallel structures" that could undermine the stability of the socialist social system and ensure a new "revolution." Like other anticommunist theorists, he idealizes the political conditions of pre-Munich Czechoslovakia, which he highly assesses because of its "pluralism." Incidentally, these falsifiers of the true class essence of the bourgeois state are being proved wrong even by the memoirs of General Moraves, head of the Czechoslovak bourgeois republic's military intelligence, which were published abroad. He frankly admits that even before being drafted members of the Communist Party were under the surveillance of police stations and were not allowed to serve with the artillery, the Air Force, and the tank troops. Equally, they were not allowed to become officers. During their military service they were observed by counterintelligence agencies. At the same time Moravec declares that he does not know a single instance in which communists acted contrary to the interests of their homeland.

It would be incorrect to assume that the thousands of pages and hundreds of books that have been written in the West about Czechoslovakia after the crisis-ridden period are to serve merely propaganda purposes. They are materials serving as a basis for drawing up new methods of action against our country. For example, many authors of these papers have arrived at the opinion that if the emergence of antisocialist forces is to be successful, one cannot confine oneself to members of the intelligentsia; rather it is necessary to penetrate the factories, to infiltrate the workers class. A certain role was certainly played in this respect by the analysis of experiences from recent developments in the Polish People's Republic.

What are the most important conclusions that can be drawn from this brief analysis of the present psychological war of imperialism against the countries of real socialism for the ideological and political-educational work of the party, state bodies, and mass organizations?

There can be no doubt that the psychological warfare, just like the orientation of the reactionary forces of imperialism toward military confrontation, cannot last forever. Sooner or later the ruling circles of the capitalist countries will have to acknowledge the realities of the present world and draw from this unavoidable conclusions for their activity. There is no other sensible alternative. No war, whether psychological, cold or nuclear, can stop the course of history and return imperialism to its former positions. "NO ONE WILL SUCCEED IN UNDERMINING THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM WITH THE HELP OF MISINFORMATION AND LIES," the Political Declaration of the Warsaw Pact member states adopted at the session of their Political Consultative Committee in Prague on 5 January 1983 states. However, the anticommunists' nuclear lunacy can lead to mankind's extinction. Increasingly broad masses of working people all over the world are coming to understand this. An important task of the ideological front is to expose the true goals of the organizers of psychological warfare.

The psychological war of imperialism against the countries of real socialism does not change the fundamental tasks and goals of ideological and political-educational work. These were laid down by the 16th CPCZ Congress and are part of the program of building an advanced socialist society. THE FOREMOST TASK OF THE ENTIRE IDEOLOGICAL FRONT TODAY IS TO ENHANCE ITS PARTICIPATION IN SOLVING THE BASIC STRATEGIC TASK -- TO BRING ABOUT HIGH EFFECTIVENESS IN SOCIAL PRODUCTION AND TOP QUALITY IN ALL WORK. This presupposes that we substantially improve the quality and markedly raise the effectiveness of all forms of ideological and political-educational work. A great impetus in this respect are the results of the 15th CPCZ Central Committee session of March 1980, which constitute long-term guidelines. The present international situation makes it imperative that we implement this program of developing ideological and political-educational work much more exactingly and consistently. THE FURTHER BUILDING OF ADVANCED SOCIALISM AND THE POSITIVE SOLUTION OF THE QUALITATIVELY NEW TASKS CONNECTED WITH MAKING A TRANSITION TO A PREDOMINANTLY INTENSIVE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMY REMAIN THE MAIN BATTLES AGAINST IMPERIALISM.

Psychological warfare demands that we substantially improve the quality of the entire ideological front. We are well aware of the great untapped possibilities existing in this respect.

The most effective weapon in the struggle against imperialist propaganda is spreading the truth about real socialism. People's experience fully confirms that a lie has short legs. No new methods of ideological subversion, no matter how cunning, can forever obliterate the truth that socialism is the social system which, despite all the problems and difficulties, offers the masses of working people on our planet the prospect of a life in peace.

The present conditions urgently demand that we intensify the drive, militancy, and promptness of the whole system of our propaganda. We must not lose sight of the fact that the winner in ideological struggle is frequently the one who is more flexible and the first to come up with his interpretation of problems and events. Overcoming views that are already rooted in people's minds is much more difficult than promptly instilling in them one's own interpretation.

It is no secret that large-scale ideological subversion plans are being prepared, such as the already approved Telsat and Telstar project, which envisages television programs via satellite for the population of socialist countries. This obliges us not to underestimate the material-technical base of our ideological and educational work.

The systematic analysis of the main directions of the psychological war of imperialism against real socialism and the prompt drafting of inevitable countermeasures are becoming exceedingly important under the present conditions. A more intensive coordination of the fraternal communist parties' and socialist countries' ideological and political-educational work is becoming an increasingly important source of its effectiveness. In this respect, too, we have considerable untapped potential of which we must make much broader use.

DPA REPORTS PEZLAR CRITICISM OF VATICAN

LD110041 Hamburg DPA in German 1755 GMT 10 Mar 83

[Text] Vienna 10 Mar (DPA) -- A high Slovak party functionary has accused the Vatican of exerting pressure on the Catholic Church in the CSSR "in order to provoke a conflict with the state." According to the Catholic news agency KATHPRESS on Thursday, Central Committee member Ludovit Pezlar wrote in the Slovak party organ PRAVDA that this "intervention" is expressed in a "psychological war against real socialism, which the Vatican strategists have adopted after the Polish mode."

KATHPRESS says that he supported this argument by citing the Vatican's support for the underground church in the CSSR. In its "psychological-imperialist war," the Vatican also supports the "Charter-77" civil rights movement, is disseminating "inventions" about the persecution of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia, and is producing television programs with the intention of broadcasting them to socialist countries.

FOREIGN MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON FOREIGN POLICY

LD102357 Budapest MTI in English 1705 GMT 10 Mar 83

[Text] Budapest, March 10 (MTI) -- Hungarian Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja gave the following interview to the export news desk of MTI (abbreviated version -- full text to be published in weekly bulletin No 11):

Q: Although the foreign policy of the Hungarian People's Republic is well-known, all statements of Hungarian leaders, which explain the policy or take a stand on major international issues, are followed keenly by the world press. How do you, the foreign minister of the Hungarian People's Republic, sum up the essential characteristics of the policy?

A: In the present complicated international situation there is keen public interest in the international position and judgment of our country. Top priorities in Hungary's foreign policy continue to be the maintenance of peace and the strengthening of security and the safeguarding and further developing of detente. We repeatedly state that peaceful co-existence and cooperation is the only alternative for countries with different social systems.

Hungarian foreign policy is the most active in the sphere of bilateral relations, but we are also increasingly participating in international organizations and multilateral meetings and talks. The solid reputation and increased international respect of the Hungarian People's Republic gives us very favourable opportunities to broaden our activity. It is perhaps not completely known that the Hungarian People's Republic is a member of nearly a thousand international organizations and holds high offices in many. Last year the UN General Assembly elected its first Hungarian president, Deputy Foreign Minister Imre Hollai, as the vice-chairman of the UNCTAD Council session and the vice-president of the GATT conference are also Hungarians. [as received] Our diplomacy is initiating and active in these international organizations. In last year's UN General Assembly Hungary put forward a disarmament proposal and participated in the formation of a further 32. In the Second World Conference of Culture Ministers three Hungarian proposals were accepted.

Q: It would appear that Hungary attributes particular importance to the development of bilateral relations. Why is this so?

A: Our experience has proved that the development of bilateral relations serves not only the interests of the two partners, but directly and indirectly, contributes to the overall development of international relations, the strengthening of international cooperation, and ultimately to the relaxation of tension and the establishment of the spirit of mutual understanding and confidence. In this area we attribute particular importance to personal diplomacy, to the high-level talks of Hungary's responsible party and state leaders, and members of the Hungarian Government, both at home and abroad. In the present complicated international situation we are stepping up our efforts to regularly inform our partners in countries with different social systems on Hungary's position. I am convinced that frank dialogue and the open exchange of views serve the strengthening of mutual confidence, even if we do not hold identical views on all issues.

Complying with the policy of peaceful co-existence, we are continuing to broaden relations with the advanced capitalist countries on the basis of equal rights and mutual advantages. Although the increased international tension and the capitalist economic crisis have caused some obstacles in the relations of the socialist countries with the capitalist countries, we have been able to maintain, and in certain aspects even further develop our relations with those countries. There was no break in our bilateral relations, and in general, they are developing favourably. Our foreign policy continues to pay particular attention to Europe. West-European countries are important in our foreign economic and cultural relations.

Q: Both in the bilateral and multilateral fields Hungary naturally maintains the strongest and the most varied relations with the socialist countries. How has this cooperation developed in the recent period?

A: In its relations with the socialist countries Hungary considers the Soviet Union the most important. The fraternal bilateral relations of the Hungarian People's Republic and the Soviet Union are continuously developing in all fields. The cooperation with the Soviet Union is indispensable for our economic development and international economic relations. Our cultural, technical and scientific cooperation is successful and continuously broadening. The developing of direct relations with the Soviet republics is a relatively new and promising field of our cooperation. We hold entirely identical views with the Soviet Union on the major issues of the international situation. The development of friendly relations with the neighbouring socialist countries is of particular importance, as reflected in our everyday activity.

We have established active relations with the other socialist countries in Europe and elsewhere. We are prepared to develop inter-state relations with China and Albania on the basis of mutual advantages and interests.

As is known, the high-ranking CMEA meeting is under preparation in which Hungary is taking an active part. Problems in the internal economic development of socialist countries and the current international economic situation as well as the lasting world crisis of the capitalist economy have necessitated further exploration of the possibilities of cooperation of socialist countries.

The Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization held a session in Prague early this year. Proposals and initiatives in its political statement continue to be the focus of international interest. With the means at its disposal Hungarian foreign policy is making efforts to contribute to the implementation of the joint stand of the socialist countries. We are convinced that these proposals show a way out from the current tense international situation and their implementation would also help to surmount current difficulties.

Q: A traditionally important aim of Hungarian foreign policy is to strengthen and expand relations with developing countries. What results have been recently achieved in this field?

A: Our foreign policy is paying increasing attention to developing countries. Political and economic relations with these countries have recently developed satisfactorily. In 1982 developing countries has a 10.5 per cent share of Hungary's foreign trade. Export to developing countries amounted to 12 per cent and import 9 per cent. For geographical, economic and other reasons, we have the most comprehensive relations with Arab countries which are relatively close to Hungary. However, there are good prospects for the development of relations with Afro-Asian and Latin-American countries. Hungary's membership of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, the two specialized organizations of the U.N., offers further opportunities for Hungary to participate in the realization of investments in developing countries.

Q: The protracted Madrid meeting is one of the important forums of European political activity as well as East-West dialogue. Is there a chance for a successful conclusion?

A: We hold the Madrid meeting of the participants of the Conference of Security and Cooperation in Europe an important forum of the detente process and for the promotion of international atmosphere. Our delegation is carrying out constructive work, that promotes agreement at every stage of the meeting. The protraction of the meeting was not the aim of Hungary nor that of our socialist allies. We have stated from the very beginning that our common aim is the conclusion of the meeting with the approval of a substantial and balanced final document.

Such a document would contribute to the developing of the situation in Europe in the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act. We also hold it important that the meeting should decide on the convocation of an European conference on strengthening confidence and seucirty and disarmament which fits into the general process in Europe. It is promising that NATO countries' delegations are showing a more constructive attitude. We would like to hope that it is not backed by tactical reasons but by a wish for agreement, and that the meeting can bring a successful conclusion to its work.

A: However, the most important issue is nuclear disarmament, or, as it is unrealizeable at present, the maintenance of a nuclear balance in Europe at the possible lowest level, the continuation of detente and the strengthening of confidence through gestures and partial solutions. What is the stand of Hungarian foreign policy?

A: A halt to the arms race and the limitation and reduction of arms is the way to the strengthening of peace and international security and the deepening of cooperation. The limitation and reduction of nuclear armament is of particular importance.

The people of the Hungarian People's Republic have cause to be anxious about the well-known NATO decision, under which new U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles are to be deployed in five European countries. This plan implies uncalculable danger not only for the peoples in Europe but for the world. Our stand is that the implementation of this plan is to be crossed. [as received] What we like the best is that Europe will be entirely free of nuclear arms, including medium-range or tactical ones. If this "zero option" cannot be implemented at present, we would like medium-range nuclear weapons to be radically reduced in the near future on the basis of equality and equal security. It was manifested in the Political Statement of the Prague session of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee. The current Geneva Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear weapons in Europe is the proper forum of the solution of these issues. We are convinced that if the U.S. party studied the recent proposals of Yuriy Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU, with the intention for agreement, it could be achieved.

The Hungarian People's Republic supports the well-known proposal of Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme. We think that the proposal deserves serious support. This proposal can be further developed and it is connectable with the other proposals on nuclear-free zones. We support the establishment of a nuclear-free zone on the Balkans, our direct neighbour, as well as the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe and would highly appreciate the establishment of an intermediary nuclear-free zone. We also attach great importance to the reduction of conventional troops and arms on the European Continent. It would be important to reach an early agreement at the talks on arms and troops reductions in central Europe, which are in their tenth year now. Responsibility for lack of progress after such a long time does not lie with the socialist countries. We hope that this time the Western side will at last adopt a constructive attitude and the impass will be broken with joint effort. It should be taken into account that success at the Vienna talks would possibly enable the starting of conventional arms reduction talks in other regions too.

VIENNA CITES CULTURE MINISTER ON PLURALISM

AU102043 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1700 GMT 10 Mar 83

[Erich Macho report on visit of Hungarian Culture and Education Minsiter Dr Bela Kopeczi to Austria and interview with the minister given in Vienna today -- recording in German]

[Excerpt] The fact that the cultural exchange between Austria and Hungary functions so well is due to the fact that Hungary pursues the most liberal culture policy of the Eastern bloc states. Minister Kopeczi even speaks of a pluralism within the framework of a socialist cultural policy.

[Begin Kopeczi recording] Pluralism means to me a plurality of ideas, trends of ideas, and also of ideologies, because we believe that in Hungary Marxism, or the socialist concept of the world, plays a -- let us say -- leading role but does not hold a monopolistic position. There exist various other ideological orientations aside from Marxism. I may mention, for example, religion, or the various religions. Naturally socialist cultural policy can and must take into consideration this plurality. And we are pursuing a very open policy as far as this type of plurality is concerned. But this plurality does not mean a political pluralism in the sense of a multiparty system. [end recording]

There have been indications of a stiffening of Hungarian cultural policy in the past few weeks. Thus, a private booksotre, the so-called Rajk Boutique where underground literature was sold, was closed by police and some regime critics were penalized for illegal publishing activities. Minister Kopeczi regards this as a necessary measure, primarily for foreign policy reasons. With their support for the Hungarian minority in Romania, the regime critics had interfered in the affairs of other states and had overstepped the limits of a purely domestic policy opposition which had been tolerated in the past and is being tolerated now. These measures would not change anything in the principled Hungarian culture policy, Minister Kopeczi stated.

BUDAPEST TV NOTES ACZEL DEPARTURE FOR BERLIN

LD100005 Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 9 Mar 83

[Text] Gyorgy Aczel has left for Berlin. The party Politburo member and Central Committee secretary had been invited by the SED Central Committee.

MARJAI CONTINUES VISIT TO UNITED KINGDOM

LD082250 Budapest MTI in English 1712 GMT 8 Mar 83

[Text] London, March 8 (MTI) -- British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher Tuesday met Jozsef Marjai, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, who is on an official visit to London.

Earlier in the day Jozsef Marjai held talks with Cabinet members Francis PYM, secretary of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs; Lord Cockfield, secretary of state for trade; and Leon Brittan, chief secretary for treasury; as well as Peter Rees, minister of trade, department of trade.

Lord Cockfield gave a dinner in honour of Jozsef Marjai Monday evening.

The deputy chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers held talks with Ian Mikardo, Labour MP and chairman of the British-Hungarian parliamentary group, and members of the group.

COMMUNIQUE ON MSZMP DELEGATION VISIT TO ALGERIA

For Algiers EL MOUDJAHID coverage of the APS report on the joint communique issued at the end of the visit by the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] delegation to the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, see the North Africa section of the 11 March issue of the Middle East and Africa DAILY REPORT.

PROSECUTOR GENERAL'S OFFICE SUBMITS 1982 REPORT

LD110038 Warsaw PAP in Russian 2100 GMT 10 Mar 83

[Text] [no dateline received] A session of the State Council was held on 10 March, at which the prosecutor general's report on the activities of the Polish People's Republic Prosecutor General's Office in 1982 was reviewed. It was stressed that the imposition of martial law had been a basis for the restoration of law and constitutional order in the country, for consolidating the strength of the state, and for continuing the process of socialist renewal. There also arose conditions for more effectively combating crime and other manifestations of social malaise which had been having a substantial effect on improving the situation in the field of order and public security. The organs of the Prosecutor General's Office concentrated its efforts and resources on:

-- protecting the structural foundations of the state and of its political and economic interests;

-- using the requirements of martial law to eliminate negative social phenomena, increase public security, and strengthen law and order and public discipline.

In endorsing the report and expressing recognition of the activities of the Prosecutor General's Office in 1982, the State Council approved its plans for 1983, which are to be a continuation of existing lines of activity. The State Council pointed to the need for intensive steps directed at increasing crime detection, especially that of economic crime. It is essential for the public to become involved in the struggle against manifestations of social malaise. An in-depth analysis of the causes and sources of such phenomena also needs to be carried out in cooperation with all the organs of the judiciary and with scientific establishments.

Mention was made of the need for the investigating bodies along with appropriate bodies of the authorities, to act resolutely to combat growth in the incidence of theft of goods in transit, particularly from train cars.

In joint action with the people's councils, the state administration, Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth links, trade unions, and other public organizations the Prosecutor General's Office must strive to broaden further the public front of the struggle against negative phenomena.

The law commission and the General Prosecutor's Office have been allotted a series of tasks, among others that of elaborating a program of preventive activity.

REPORT ON GLEMP DEPARTURE, PAPAL VISIT

LD101832 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 10 Mar 83

[Text] This morning, the primate of Poland, Cardinal Jozef Glemp departed for Rome to attend the ceremony of the taking over of the Nominal Church of the Holiest Virgin Mary (?in Rome).

At Warsaw airport the primate told journalists that during his stay in Rome, which will last until Wednesday, he will meet the pope. Asked about the announced arrival of the pope in Poland, Cardinal Jozef Glemp said that he sees no obstacles in the path of the visit and expressed the opinion that in the near future an official invitation will be handed to the pope. He also added that preparations for the pope's visit will begin soon and that the program of the visit will be published.

GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON TRADE UNIONS

AU010812 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 4 Mar 83 pp 1, 3

[Michal Ksiezarczyk interview with Pawel Chocholak, director of the Council of Ministers' Office for Cooperation With Trade Unions: "Are Trade Unions Necessary for the Government?"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] Before 13 December, cooperation with the unions was not working out very well for the government. How is it now?

[Answer] The intention to cooperate was expressed at the Council of Ministers' last session by a definite desire to consult the unions, which are important to working people, on decisions and legal acts.

[Question] These are plans, what about the reality?

[Answer] There should be no problem with cooperation at the factory level. The unions are taking full advantage of their legal rights, while the administration is responsible for the duties defined by the law.

[Question] With what aim in mind was the Office for Cooperation With Trade Unions created?

[Answer] As I have already mentioned, we want to work with the unions on the government level. The office's task is to organize the work of the central administration in this sphere. The consultation problem was discussed by the Council of Ministers' Committee for Trade Unions and work continues on the draft regulations covering this matter. This will sometimes have to be a public consultation with the participation of all, including some trade unions.

[Question] Over a million trade unionists is a large membership, but not so many compared to the 12 million working population. Can we, in your opinion, expect trade unions to grow in numbers and when will this take place?

[Answer] Let us remember that only 2 months have elapsed since the unions began their activities. Life shows that people find trade unions particularly necessary when times are hard.

[Question] Where do the new unions stand in plants in which workers' self-management bodies are active?

[Answer] The principles of cooperation between trade unions and workers' self-management bodies have yet to take shape. We have in Poland, for better or worse, a rich and lengthy tradition of trade union activities. Workers' self-management bodies, in their present state, are the first such wide-scale attempt in our country. A tendency for trade unions to assume control over the self-management movement has occurred in recent years.

[Question] Today it is rather the reverse in practice as self-management bodies take over trade union functions.

[Answer] Well? This is the way it had to happen. Workers' self-management bodies resumed their activities in May 1982 while trade unions were inactive for a long time afterward. By the nature of things, the workers' self-management bodies had to enter the arena of union activities. We must remember that the trade union movement at this stage only consists of factory-level union structures and its strength was, after all, also inherent in the fact that the movement was organized vertically, giving it wider scope for its activities.

[Question] Can we expect an acceleration in the process of trade union formation? There is already a tendency to establish contacts between people in the same branch.

[Answer] Such tendencies are indeed apparent in certain professional circles. There is undoubtedly no reason to hinder the development of this movement at a higher level, as it is important for this process to be a natural one. The idea of building up the trade union movement from the bottom has been adopted, starting at the factory level, in order to create conditions for the work force to shape the trade union movement. The trade union movement is not starting from scratch. What is written in the law does not interfere with the internal affairs of trade unions which are in the process of forming themselves. Independent and self-managing trade unions in Poland have wide powers and scope for activity. A political organization which specifically goes under the name of a trade union is, on the other hand, unacceptable, and it is for this reason that the law provides so many obstacles in the event of a trade union wanting to undertake activities that would exceed the aims of a trade union.

[Question] It would not be good for the unions if the government's decisions were being made without consulting them. But it would also do new unions little good to participate in decisions on, for instance, price increases. Which is the lesser of the two evils?

[Answer] We must look at this in somewhat different terms. We must consult price policies and their basic regulations, but it is out of the question to consult over every price fluctuation. This abnormal form of behavior in Poland came about through an erroneous way of approaching the price issue. The difference between the increase in prices and the growth in people's incomes is important. The ratios between these things is important, aside from the level of prices, and who pays the cost of overcoming the crisis is also important. Trade union activists strongly emphasize the need for these costs to be justly distributed. They must not, for instance, be a heavier burden on the socialized economy than on people who work for themselves. The state's job is to find a solution which would be socially just and which would become the driving force behind the economy.

[Question] What are the possibilities of winning over the activists of the former unions? Maybe then our social coexistence would be an easier one?

[Answer] Our attitude to these matters was expressed in February 1982 in our theses on the future of the trade union movement. It does not matter where union members come from, but it matters what they can contribute. Among the initiators of the new unions are members of all the former unions. They are usually new activists who did not formerly perform any functions. I believe this is quite normal for a new movement to shape its own new aktiv.

[Question] How long will it take to break down the barrier between trade unions and the work forces of the plants in which they are active?

[Answer] It is not a case of a first and final break, but rather of a continuing process. The deciding factor will be the union's position and role as well as their ability to help people.

[Question] As you no doubt recall, trade unions were intended to be treated as the authorities' partner. What is the state of this partnership today?

[Answer] This is, after all, the beginning. Our partner is only just organizing and forming now. Many people have in the meantime grown used to being in authority without unions and without the existence of a workers' representative. This is only an apparently convenient way of governing.

[Question] Does this mean that the authorities need trade unions?

[Answer] Yes, the point being that we should resolve conflicts in their first stages, as they occur, without waiting for them to get worse. This is, above all, the aim of our serious, partnerlike treatment of trade unions.

[Question] Asking for the opinion of a trade union does not have to mean it has been taken into consideration. What are the prospects?

[Answer] A law on trade unions covers their rights. The state must reconcile all kinds of social interests, which involves more than a compromise between demands and possibilities; however, we must always seek a common forum through consultations and discussions. The solutions proposed by the state administration are not always the most apt. We will not, at the same time, be able to achieve an improvement in work productivity, for instance, even with the help of the most correct economic solutions, if the proposed solutions are not accepted by society. Through consultations, we want to bring about a situation in which such solutions will be accepted with understanding though not necessarily with applause. Today, we are faced with a real need to tell ourselves quite clearly that we will have the standard of living which we have worked for. This is why the consultative role is understood by some as a way of finding the best solutions and by others as a method of correctly preparing and adapting these decisions.

Consultations are not only a matter of listening to opinions. We must take the comments which have been expressed into serious consideration, but we must also be aware that even the broadest consultations will not release the authorities from the duty to make decisions.

ARMY DAILY ON WESTERN OPPOSITION TO POPE'S VISIT

AU100823 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 7 Mar 83 p 2

[Colonel W. Zielinski commentary: "The Opponents to the Pope's Visit"]

[Excerpts] Who is the most troubled by the pope's visit to Poland? It appears from Western press, press agencies, and, of course, from subversive radio stations that it is the West and representatives of the so-called underground structures that are most bothered by it.

These fears unintentionally revealed the hopes and wishes that the West expressed at every occasion during the first half of 1982 that "the pope will not come to Poland because the military junta is against it." During the second half of 1982, when a provisional date for the pope's visit during the middle of 1983 was agreed upon, Western media, especially Radio Free Europe [RFE], suddenly sounded the alarm and started to advise the church that "the pope should not come to Poland because this would sanction the existing situation and therefore, martial law and the regime".

Martial law was suspended, however, and the date of the visit was fixed for 18 June 1983. Information on this subject was published by both the Polish and foreign press. After being momentarily stunned, the subversive radio stations as well as certain foreign correspondents in Poland adopted a common propaganda aim.

They started to show that the visit is exclusively dependent on higher powers while avoiding the fact, as if they had been ordered to do so, that the date fixed for the pope's visit was agreed on by all interested parties. In a nutshell, they said that it must be prayed for because otherwise it would not take place. Here are a few examples.

AFP (France): "On Wednesday, a day of prayer throughout the country, the church began spiritual preparations for the visit, but nothing has been explained yet because this visit has many unknown quantitites for the authorities...." A few paragraphs later in the same dispatch we learn "what upsets AFP": "On first sight, the pope's visit has definite advantages, the most obvious being that it could conveniently serve the authorities of General Jaruzelski and break their still considerable international isolation...."

REUTER (Great Britain): "The Polish people joined in a day of prayer for the pope's visit and churches throughout the country held special masses; millions of Catholics flooded the churches to pray that the pope's visit to his homeland would not be hindered by any obstacles. Many of the believers held lighted candles during the prayers." The last sentence betrays the fact that the author of this 2 February REUTER dispatch is an Anglican and this is why his ignorance concerning the Catholic Church is so total; he does not know that every year on 2 February -- Candlemas Day -- prayers are said in churches and believers come to them with lighted candles.

In reality, the pope's visit to Poland is very awkward for the West for reasons which were revealed by AFP. We should not, likewise, be surprised by the fact that the same fears that the visit will "break down the international isolation" are held by extremists from underground structures. Their opinions, contained in underground newspapers, are referred to by RFE. All these facts are clear proof that certain centers, both in capitalist countries as well as at home, are making joint efforts to attempt to convince "someone" that the pope ought not to come to Poland. Those who advocate this idea even exploit churches to organize hostile political gatherings, as stressed by J. Urban, the government's press spokesman, at a press conference for foreign correspondents.

An example of these activities is a campaign codenamed "Kruk", which is also organized by the West to prove that the clergy has been infiltrated by the security services in order to create a climate of mutual mistrust. In a similar way, certain correspondents like B. Margueritte from the French newspaper LE FIGARO, write that "the church is being persecuted by local authorities," and Tondre of AFP says that "less than 4 months before the pope's announced visit the authorities gave the church a strong warning," although, as a correspondent from the U.S. AP admits, "parish priests in many cities and towns have permitted former Solidarity activists to air their views in churches since the union was dissolved." It is worth adding that the "educational" effects of these chats then often "spilled out" onto the streets....

The above examples, which were chosen from many others, show that there are many opponents to the pope's visit. Among them are Western political centers and the institutions which represent them such as Radio Free Europe and its related subversive radio stations. These were joined by various integrators [as published] from whose ranks came a priest who wanted to murder the pope, as well as our own extremists at home, since they all realized that this visit could be an obstacle to their political aspirations and the aims they had mapped out.

LE FIGARO CITES PZPR DOCUMENT ON NEW UNIONS

PM091753 Paris LE FIGARO in French 7 Mar 83 p 2

[Bernard Margueritte dispatch: "Poland: The Party Is Supervising the New Trade Unions"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The development of the situation in the trade union sphere remains one of the keys to the Polish crisis now that Solidarity has been outlawed. What will Mr Walesa's role be? Could there be a return to trade union pluralism? Will the new trade unions eventually win the workers' confidence? The government is convinced that a positive answer will be given to this last question and is emphasizing the "self-managed and independent" nature of the new trade union movement. Unfortunately a confidential

study by the socioprofessional section of the Central Committee which has come into our hands casts doubt on the sincerity of its assertions.

Warsaw [no date given] -- The document "for internal party use" is entitled: "Report on the Process of Establishing the Trade Unions." First it states that as soon as the vote was taken on the trade unions (8 October 1982) "Central Committee workers and instructors were sent to the main enterprises." Thus the party "took the political initiative" in restoring the trade unions. On the other hand "the guidelines for propaganda actions were settled with the journalists."

In 28 out of 49 voivodships (regions) trade union organization groups exist in at least half of the enterprises. But the situation is disastrous from the government's viewpoint in voivodships like Tarnow and Wroclaw, where there are very few "initiative groups" for the new trade unions. Furthermore, in the country as a whole "the vast majority of groups are very small." Thus participation in the new trade unions must be regarded as "small," especially since it is, in general, the party "apparatus which has taken the trouble to create the trade unions."

The courts are having difficulty in registering the new trade union cells because of excessively obvious defects. The "initiative groups" often simply omit the presentation of their organization's rules. In addition, according to the document, "as a general rule it must be considered that the party members' commitment to the process of forming the trade unions is inadequate." It is true that in places where the party is strongly committed, according to the opinion of the Jelenia Gora Voivodship committee cited in the document, "the effect is often the reverse of the goal sought," in other words, the workers flee even more rapidly. As for the socialist youth, it is better not to talk about it. Their action on young people is "limited": "In the Nowy Sacz Voivodship it was noted that there were no statements supporting the creation of trade unions by the youth organizations." Finally, the former members of the branch trade unions which had official support before martial law cannot be of much help since "some of the branch movement members do not obtain the acceptance of the staff and workers."

Passive or Hostile Workers

The situation is particularly bad, the Central Committee "report" notes "in the big enterprises; in other words, where Solidarity had considerable influence." It is also particularly bad among engineers, technicians, doctors, and workers in science and culture, "whose passive and often unfriendly and hostile attitude" toward the new trade union "is observed by all the voivodship bodies." In some cases the party is faced with an entirely different worry; these are places where the Solidarity members are clearly trying to take control of the new trade unions. This is happening, for instance, in the regions of Krakow (where they make up 75 percent of the members), Plock (70 percent), and Cechanow (60 percent).

In general, while hoping that these trade unions can be developed more effectively after the end of martial law, the document suggests giving material advantages to their members; previously many social benefits were paid by the enterprise and not by the trade union. "The maintenance of such a practice in the future would reduce the potential ranks (of trade union members)." The document makes no secret of the fact that the workers are spurning the trade union. "The boycotting of the trade unions initiated by the clandestine organization and the idea that Solidarity's dissolution does not put an end to its activity are still present in social awareness, the party document reveals.... Passive attitudes are regarded primarily as a reaction to the dissolution of all the previous trade unions or are caused by lack of confidence in a decision which is 'the government's work,' -- a lack of confidence linked with doubts about the trade unions' self-managed character and their independence from the administration."

If they read the "report" the workers would certainly lose all their doubts -- the new trade unions can be independent from the administration but not from the party, it specifies. It has been learned that the court rightly refused to register the trade union of the Nowa Ruda miners, who "did not want to abandon a clause on their trade union's independence of political organizations." The affair is to be judged by the Supreme Court. Furthermore, under the "pressures" exerted a number of "initiative groups" have already been voluntarily dissolved. For instance seven such cases have occurred in Wroclaw Voivodship alone.

Finally, to make things absolutely clear, the Central Committee document dots its "i"s in its conclusion: "The creation of the new trade unions is politically guided and inspired by the party bodies and organizations," it states -- in fact, with the utmost clarity.

FRANCE PROTESTS TRIAL OF SOLIDARITY FIGURES

PM081421 Paris LE MONDE in French 4 Mar 83 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Quai d'Orsay Intervenes on Behalf of Solidarity Leaders Charged With Plotting Against the State"]

[Text] The External Relations Ministry has made "extremely firm" representations to the Polish Embassy in Paris in favor of the seven Solidarity leadership members charged with plotting against the state, Mr Mitterrand said in reply to a letter sent him about them by the Workers Force [FO] Trade Union secretary general.

It was on 19 January that Mr Bergeron wrote the head of state to ask him to intervene in favor of the seven Polish trade unionists Mr Gwiazda, Mr Jaworski, Mr Jurczyk, Mr Palka, Mr Rosplochowski, Mr Rulewski and Mr Modzelewski, the former spokesman of the dissolved trade union for whom several of his French historian colleagues have just formed a defense committee.

"The French authorities share your anxiety...." Mr Mitterrand stated in his reply, which was published by FO Wednesday 2 March, recalling that "France has publicly condemned the violations of freedom and human rights in Poland on many occasions and at the highest level." "For instance," the president of the republic continued, "the external relations minister made very strong representations to the Polish Embassy to show the interest we have in these seven trade union members."

In Warsaw Mr Switon, the former Solidarity member held for 48 hours after being arrested 23 February inside the church in Katowice where he had asked for a mass to be said for the trade unionists killed under martial law, has told Western press agencies that the police had threatened to "cut my throat" if he ever took a similar initiative again. Nevertheless, he said, that is what he intends to do, asking for another mass to be said 16 March in another church in Katowice for the workers from the Wujek mine killed by the forces of order shortly after martial law was introduced.

Finally another case of a forged document used to help the normalization operation has just arisen in Warsaw. This time it is a letter attributed to Writers' Union Chairman Jan Jozef Szczepanski and read during a meeting of communist writers at Central Committee headquarters which marked the launching of a campaign against that association's leadership.

This forgery was intended to demonstrate Mr Szczepanski's "extremism." The revelation of this manipulation by Mr Szczepanski himself seems to have caused some unease which could remove or at least suspend the threat of dissolution hanging over the union.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI VIEWS FRG ELECTION RESULTS

AU101226 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 8 Mar 83 p 2

[Stefan Zielicz commentary: "From the Polish Point of View"]

[Text] Although the FRG elections are obviously a domestic matter of that country, their results still possess an international aspect. The economic and military potential of the FRG and the FRG's resulting role in the NATO bloc dictate the need to keep a close watch on events on the Bonn political scene. This especially concerns us Poles, since the Federal Republic is not only a potential partner of mutually advantageous economic cooperation with our country which has been severed through no fault of our own, but also and above all a seat of anti-Polish revanchist forces aiming to erase the results of World War II at the expense of the GDR and the other socialist countries.

These forces tend to regard the Sunday election results as their great success because although the decision of the West German voters was certainly dictated by internal political motives, especially by the mass unemployment which is generally blamed on the long-ruling Social Democrats -- the SPD having led a rather weak propaganda campaign as if it were not at all in a hurry to assume seemingly burdensome authority -- nevertheless the fact remains that the election results are without doubt a sign of a return to the right in the West German community's thinking benefiting the advantage of the conservative, militaristic, and nationalist elements which have rallied under the standard of the CDU and especially the CSU.

It is an irrefutable fact that during the propaganda campaign preceding these elections, both Christian Democratic parties deliberately brought up the question of the 1937 frontiers of the Hitlerite reich. They did this in order to get the vote of the entire West German rightwing and to use all the forces of German nationalism, chauvinism, and revisionism in their political game. After all, this is the only way one can construe the anti-Polish speeches by Minister Zimmermann which Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl also lent support to in his notorious interview for the NORDWEST ZEITUNG on 8 February. Now, the parties of Kohl, Strauss, and Zimmermann have received a vote of confidence from slightly less than half of West Germany's voters. They have also gained almost half the seats in the Bundestag, which assures the Christian Democrats in coalition with the liberals of a reign in Bonn and the possibility of implementing their policies.

There is no illusion about where this police is aimed. Even if the speeches of Zimmermann and Kohl a month ago were dictated by pre-electoral tactical considerations, it is surely no coincidence that the Christian parties turned to those voters with nationalist and anti-Polish attitudes. These voters, including the neo-Hitlerites, who have voted for the CDU, will also no doubt exert stronger pressure on the Federal Government's foreign policy even if Franz-Josef Strauss does not dictate this policy in the end, although this is exactly how he allegedly wants to discount [as published] the success of his Bavarian CSU.

The victory of the Christian Democratic parties has also been welcomed with great joy by cold-war NATO circles, especially by Washington. This is easy to understand, since the Christian Democratic leaders are exceeding themselves with their declarations of loyalty to the arms race police led by President Ronald Reagan, especially concerning the deployment of American medium-range missiles in the Federal Republic, which might occur even if the remaining NATO states do not agree to it.

So there is little doubt that under Christian Democratic rule, the FRG will continue to ardently implement American cold-war policy in Europe, that the Bundeswehr will be expanded faster than it has up to now, and that the influence of the chauvinist and revanchist forces will increase.

Even in the seventies, when the relatively realistic policy of the socialist-liberal government coalition in power at the time created chances for a mutually advantageous normalization of relations between Bonn and Warsaw, we still warned against the dangers, obstacles, and barriers on this road. We warned that the reactionary rightwing forces in the FRG were taking advantage of their powerful influence in that country even though they were not in the Federal Government, for representatives of these forces occupied key positions in the economy, finance, and the Bundeswehr, to say nothing of local authorities. We pointed out the ceaseless activity of openly revanchist organizations, and we drew attention to the constitution of the FRG which is forever in force, whose preamble has always been a springboard for various people like Zimmermann....

The course and results of the West German elections have shown how correct our warnings were about the anti-Polish chauvinism whose deep roots have never been removed from the Federal Republic so that they might never grow again. However, throughout the almost 40 years since the war, we have convinced ourselves that no threats from beyond the Elbe can frighten us as long as we have the faithful allies of the Warsaw Pact at our side. Therefore, the election victory of the West German Christian Democrat rightwing does not arouse fears in us either. We are observing the effects of this victory with justificable sensitivity, without any illusions, but calmly. We can effectively oppose any hostile actions. And if realism once again emerges victorious on the Rhine, we will draw the right conclusions from this.

SED DELEGATION VISITS, MEETS WITH PZPR LEADERS

LD110038 Warsaw PAP in Russian 2100 GMT 10 Mar 83

[Text] [no dateline received] A delegation of the Mass Organizations and Parties Department of the SED Central Committee headed by Waldemar Pilz, the head of the department, began a visit to Poland on 7 March The delegation was received by Marian Orzechowski, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and held talks with the leaders of departments of the Central Committee. The talks concentrated on exchanges of experience in cooperation with mass organizations and parties and on the role and significance of the cooperation of the PZPR, ZSL, and SD with public organizations for the benefit of the development of a front of national accord in Poland. This same theme was touched on in talks that the GDR delegation held with the Poznan and Warsaw Voivodship party committees.

At the end of the visit the delegation was received by Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee. Kazimierz Cypryniak, chief of the Organizational Department of the Central Committee, took part in the meeting. Horst Neubauer, GDR ambassador in Poland, was also present.

JOURNAL EXAMINES PROBLEMS FACING CEMA

AU100917 Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian 25 Feb 83 pp 21-25

["The Total Viability of the Basic Principles of Cooperation and Collaboration Within CEMA," article by university Professor Dr Gheorghe Badrus; uppercase passages published in boldface]

[Excerpts] Various negative phenomena and difficulties have emerged in recent years in the socioeconomic development of the CEMA member states, as has been noted at various meetings of the party fora of those countries and in official documents, and as shown by statistics. Among such phenomena are a slower rate of economic growth; lagging in certain areas, such as agriculture, and low efficiency in certain sectors. There have been serious problems in ensuring supplies of energy and fuel, certain raw materials and manpower. Scientific-technical achievements are implemented too slowly and with only limited results. The above phenomena are occurring at a time when the economies of the majority of the CEMA member states are in a process of transition to intensive development, which is an additional slowing-down factor.

The difficulties facing the CEMA member states are in good part a consequence of the international economic crisis, which is affecting all the countries, including the socialist ones, to varying degrees; the energy, raw materials and monetary-financial crises have added to the instability and tension of the international economy and have thrown many activities out of kilter, thus affecting the socialist countries, too. Also profoundly negative are the effects of the continued imperialist policy of inequality and inequity, of maintaining and redividing the zones of influence; the discriminatory practices which gravely impede international exchanges and the international division of labor; and the tendency to ignore the legitimate appeals of the developing countries for help in eliminating underdevelopment and establishing a new world economic order.

At the same time, upon realistically examining the situation, one notes that certain negative phenomena affecting the development of the CEMA member states can be traced back to deficiencies that exist and persist in the process of cooperation and collaboration within CEMA, and to the fact that certain important objectives stipulated in the comprehensive program adopted at the 1971 Bucharest session of the council were not fulfilled. The main problem is that, although the CEMA member states have the potential to meet some of the requirements acutely needed for their economic development from their own resources as well as jointly, they are still dependent to a great extent on imports, particularly from the developed capitalist countries. This applies in particular to the area of energy, fuel, raw materials, agricultural products, and so forth, to which one must add the purchase of licenses and technologies from the developed capitalist countries. In addition, production-sharing and specialization do not contribute sufficiently to increasing the economic potential of each of the CEMA member states; in recent years the rate of growth of mutual trade has slowed down and its share of overall commercial exchanges has dropped.

In these conditions it has become necessary to convene a meeting of the leaders of the communist and workers parties of the CEMA member states, as our party suggested in 1980, which is now in preparation. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, "Romania is preparing to participate in the CEMA summit meeting with the desire to discuss and find solutions to the new problems that have emerged in the development of the socialist countries and in the international economy and CEMA. We proceed from the fact that the socialist countries have the potential to better solve the problems concerning their socioeconomic development, raw materials and energy, as well as the most complex technical and technological problems, and that this requires a closer cooperation among them. Naturally, we do not plan to isolate ourselves or to limit our relations with other states." (from the volume "Nicolae Ceausescu, Builder of Modern Romania, Statesman of International Standing," published by Pergamon Press; report on the interview given by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to Robert Maxwell, publisher of the collection "Great Statesmen of the World," in SCINTEIA of 27 January 1983 p 6)

One of the basic principles of cooperation within CEMA is that IT IS THE SOVEREIGN RIGHT OF EACH SOCIALIST COUNTRY'S PARTY AND STATE TO ESTABLISH THE GENERAL GUIDELINES, FORMS AND METHODS OF BUILDING SOCIALISM AND ITS ECONOMIC POLICIES. Hence, in the future, too, care must be taken that the forms and methods of cooperation within CEMA correspond to the principles of consolidating the leading role of each Communist Party in the exercise of the sovereign rights and responsibilities entrusted to it by the people for leading the national economy and socioeconomic activities in its country, and for building socialism and communism.

At the same time, by virtue of their prerogatives, the communist parties are responsible for guiding the international relations of the socialist countries in economic, political, cultural, and other areas! Experience shows that each of the meetings of our party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, with party leaders of the other CEMA member states gave fresh impetus to Romania's economic cooperation and collaboration with the respective countries. It is to be expected that the planned summit, like the one held 14 years ago, will mark a new step toward developing economic and scientific-technical cooperation among the CEMA member states.

Endeavoring to intensify cooperation within CEMA, the communist parties and the governments of the member states jointly establish the areas of convergence of their economic policies and agree on the major objectives of mutual long-term cooperation and on ways of jointly solving certain problems.

This situation essentially differs from the supranational forms of action and organization practiced by the capitalist integrationist bodies which are designed to be substituted for some of the sovereign prerogatives of the member states and which tend to violate the principles of independence and equality and each people's right to sovereignly decide on their socioeconomic organization and to develop relations with other peoples.

Harmonizing the national economic interests -- and not only economic -- of a people with international interests is, of course, part and parcel of the policies and actions of the leading bodies of each country and one of their responsibilities. In this connection, we must add that not infrequently books or articles published abroad present the issue of national and international interests of the socialist countries in a false light, as if they were two entirely different matters and as if the former should be subordinated to the latter. In reality, as life has shown, international economic interests are never divorced from national ones, are never placed above and beyond the latter, and are not given a preestablished priority over them. The national economic interests of a socialist country constitute an expression of the objective needs of its economy at a given historical period or stage and are conditioned by the country's stage of development, resources and progress requirements. As is only natural, the national economic interests of the various socialist countries do not always entirely coincide. At the same time, these countries have different foreign economic interests determined by the structure and orientation of their international economic relations and by the place that each occupies in the world economy. Viewed in this light, the international interests of the socialist countries are in fact an expression of their national interests.

As for the common international economic interests of the socialist countries, they are, in the final analysis, coinciding national interests, to be perceived as requirements shared by several countries and as a lasting feature.

Such interests can be shared by all the CEMA member states or by just a few of them. RESPECT FOR NATIONAL INTERESTS CONSTITUTES A BASIC CONDITION FOR IMPLEMENTING INTERNATIONAL INTERESTS; THESE TWO TYPES OF INTERESTS OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES MUST NOT BE OPPOSED TO EACH OTHER, SINCE THEY BLEND DIALECTICALLY.

The developing cooperation among the CEMA member states and among the socialist countries is designed to help achieve certain current and long-term basic objectives and to meet certain specific requirements of those countries and does not constitute an aim in itself.

BOTH NOW AND IN THE FUTURE, INCLUDING THE DISTANT FUTURE, THE BASIC FRAMEWORK FOR ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES AND REPRODUCTION IS THE NATIONAL ECONOMY. EXPANDING INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS AND ADOPTING NEW FORMS OF COOPERATION MUST NOT DETRACT FROM THE ROLE AND IMPORTANCE OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMIES; ON THE CONTRARY, THEY MUST ADD TO THEIR COMPLEXITY AND POTENTIAL FOR PROGRESS. THUS, AS OUR PARTY STRESSES, ALL COOPERATION AND COLLABORATION WITHIN CEMA MUST BE AIMED AT MARKEDLY, HARMONIOUSLY AND EVENLY DEVELOPING EACH NATIONAL ECONOMY.

Developing economic cooperation must proceed from the fact that the economies of the CEMA member states are currently far stronger and more diversified than, for example, at the time the comprehensive program was adopted over 10 years ago; their position in the international division of labor and in international exchanges has consolidated. The present reality of our national economy -- in terms of strength, potential, requirements, level of development, and participation in the international division of labor -- differs radically from the old "historical" molds and must not be confused with them in the process of expanding mutual cooperation!

Naturally, as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed at the RCP national conference of December 1982, our party and state advocate extensive discussions on the future development of cooperation and activities within CEMA. However, it is clear that without establishing joint actions to overcome some of the current difficulties of the CEMA member states concerning supplies of energy and raw materials, utilization of existing production facilities, agricultural and food supplies, and financial difficulties, plans to develop, improve, and raise the economic cooperation among the CEMA member states to a higher stage in the long term will lack a sound basis.

At a time when the energy and raw material crises are being strongly felt in the world, one of the basic objectives of the current 5-year plan and of the future is to develop cooperation and collaboration within CEMA designed to jointly ensure energy and fuel -- oil, gas, coal, and new energy resources -- and basic raw materials for all the member states. Although energy resources differ from one country to the other, taken as a whole the CEMA member states have considerable resources which can meet each country's reasonable requirements for the major types of energy for a long period of time.

There is no doubt that complex actions channeled toward the same goal are required to solve the problem of energy and raw materials. Thus, it is only natural that the interested countries should make contributions in terms of geological planning and prospecting studies, equipment and materials, as well as manpower to efforts to capitalize on fuel and raw material resources in the countries that have them, receiving in return such products in increased quantities and at agreed prices, in equitable conditions. At the same time, the CEMA member states will also cooperate toward saving and rationally utilizing energy-bearing materials, reducing the consumption of energy and raw materials, recovering, recycling and reutilizing raw and other materials, utilizing unconventional energy resources and applying new technologies.

Another major target is EXPANDING COOPERATION AND SPECIALIZATION IN THE MAIN FIELDS OF MATERIAL PRODUCTION, BEGINNING WITH MACHINE-BUILDING, AND DEEPENING THE DIVISION OF LABOR AMONG CEMA MEMBER COUNTRIES. Expanding cooperation and specialization in production must proceed from the importance of the material-technical level in each country and from the need to make complete use, with maximum economic efficiency,

of existing production capacities by taking into consideration both economic criteria and the requirements of industrialization and social progress in each member country, especially in less developed countries.

Another target on which the above things focus is FURTHER PROMOTING THE PROCESS OF BRINGING CLOSER AND EQUALIZING THE DEVELOPMENT LEVEL OF THE MEMBER COUNTRIES WHICH WAS ENVISAGED AS A BASIC GOAL IN THE CEMA STATUTE AND THE COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM. Sustained actions and efficient forms of collaboration and cooperation that will ensure a rapid narrowing of existing gaps between socialist countries are of great importance not only for the given countries but at the international level if one takes into consideration the deep gaps between developing countries and developed countries, the deepening of those gaps in recent years, and the reduced efficiency of the support granted to countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America to eliminate underdevelopment and step up their socioeconomic progress.

All actions aimed at collaboration, cooperation, and specialization in production should be reflected in INTENSIFIED MUTUAL GOODS EXCHANGES and in better meeting the CEMA member countries' needs for the products they lack.

Taking into account the existing situation in international relations, both economic and political. IT IS NECESSARY FOR THE CEMA MEMBER COUNTRIES TO DEVELOP -- ALONG WITH THEIR MUTUAL COOPERATION -- BROAD RELATIONS WITH THE OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD. Expanding cooperation with the other socialist countries, with the developing countries and the developed capitalist countries on the basis of the interdependence in the world economy, participating in the world exchange of goods, services and scientific and technical achievements constitutes an objective need and a condition for economic development and progress.

Despite protectionist measures, discrimination, embargoes and actions by imperialist circles seeking to restrict and tighten economic relations between "East" and "West" and to isolate socialist countries from an economic viewpoint, it is necessary for the socialist countries to use all possibilities to diversify and expand economic relations with all states of the world in the interest of resuming the policy of detente and of preserving peace.

THE FOUNDATION OF FRUITFUL COOPERATION BETWEEN COUNTRIES IN THE ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND ALL FIELDS ARE --AS PRACTICE DEMONSTRATES -- THE PRINCIPLES OF FULLY EQUAL RIGHTS, RESPECT FOR INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY, NONINTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS, MUTUAL ADVANTAGE, RENUNCIATION OF THE USE OF THREAT OF FORCE, RESPECT FOR EACH PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO FREE DEVELOPMENT AND ITS RIGHT TO CHOOSE THE SYSTEM IT DESIRES. Developing broad relations with all countries of the world in keeping with the above principles is a constant feature of Romania's policy that has enabled it to benefit from the advantages of the respective relations and increased Romania's international prestige.

Certainly, the current international situation also requires that the CEMA member countries intensify their efforts and take firm action in their relations with other countries and in international fora to counteract the discriminatory policy practiced by certain developed capitalist countries toward them so that the policy of economic reprisals and of high interest rates be abandoned! It is in the interest of the socialist countries to develop cooperation with various international economic bodies, including those with a worldwide scope, and to firmly struggle and initiate actions to launch a broad dialogue, with the participation of all states of the world, on world economic issues and on ways to solve them in order to establish a new international economic order.

REPORTAGE ON BALKER ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT

Condition of Ambassador Worsening

AU101558 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Mar 83

[Excerpt] Our reporter Slobodan Kovacevic visited the hospitals in which those wounded in yesterday's attack on the ambassador of the Republic of Turkey are being treated.

At the Neurosurgical Clinic in Belgrade, teams of physicians are making all possible efforts to improve the condition of the seriously wounded Turkish Ambassador Galip Balker. Ambassador Balker received two gunshot wounds and his life is in danger. His condition is critical, Professor Dr Nikola Sekulovic, director of the Neurosurgical Clinic, said.

[Begin Sekulovic recording] During the last few hours the Turkish ambassador's condition has deteriorated. His condition is now in a greater crisis. A drop in blood pressure has occurred and his pulse is also disturbed. For all practical purposes his brain functions have stopped. There is a complete lack of reflexes. We are maintaining breathing and heartbeat with the help of a respirator, and teams are working continuously in the struggle to keep the heart going, to maintain breathing. Otherwise, his condition is very critical. [end recording]

Dolanc Receives Turkish Emissary

LD101837 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1147 GMT 10 Mar 83

[Text] Belgrade, March 10 (TANJUG) -- Stane Dolanc, Yugoslavia's federal secretary for home affairs, received Thursday Gunner Oztek, [name as received] director-general of Turkey's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who arrived here as the envoy sent in by the Turkish Government in connection with an attempt of the life of Galip Balker, ambassador of Turkey in Belgrade.

Dolanc expressed, on behalf of the Yugoslav Government, and in his own name, regrets for the terrorist attack on the Turkish diplomat and informed Oztek on the results of the so-far inquiry. Dolanc particularly emphasized Yugoslavia's determination to oppose the most forceful, as ever so far, [as received] all forms of terrorist activity in the territory of Yugoslavia.

FEC Hears Report

LD101831 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1543 GMT 10 Mar 83

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 10 Mar (TANJUG) -- At its meeting today the Federal Executive Council considered the latest report by competent departments on the intensive investigation underway and other measures which are being taken in connection with the attack on the ambassador of the Republic of Turkey. The Council approved and expressed support for the activities and measures which have been taken to capture and prosecute the perpetrators of this crime.

The Federal Executive Council expressed its deep regret at the grave injuries sustained in this crime by His Excellency Galip Balker, ambassador of the Republic of Turkey, and by his driver.

It was emphasized at the meeting that Yugoslavia, whose representatives have often been the victims of terrorist attacks and actions, always most sharply denounces acts of international terrorism, proceeding from the position that attacks on diplomatic and consular representatives and the killing of innocent people cannot be justified in any way. It was emphasized that Yugoslavia continues to advocate the undertaking of organized efforts by the entire international community, especially in the United Nations, to uproot this evil of the modern world and to achieve a better and more efficacious interstate cooperation in the struggle against international terrorism.

Those who planned and carried out this crime, it was stated at the meeting, want not only to disrupt the good relations between Yugoslavia and friendly Turkey, but also to harm the international reputation of our country. It was also stated at the meeting that this crime was carried out at a time when Yugoslavia, with other nonaligned countries, is resolutely advocating peace in the world and the peaceful solution of conflicts in New Delhi.

The Council particularly emphasized the significance of the direct reaction on the part of the citizens who found themselves on the spot and the efficacy of the security organs, which shows the high consciousness, patriotism, and self-sacrifice in the defense of the prestige, honor and peace of our country and reflects in the best way the mood of the Yugoslav public.

The Council expressed deep regret concerning the student Zeljko Milivojevic, who lost his life while pursuing the attackers, and Slobodan Brajevic, colonel of the Yugoslav People's Army, who was gravely wounded.

In continuation of the meeting, the Federal Executive Council considered several questions related to our country's relations with foreign countries and adopted the platform in connection with the forthcoming official and friendly visit to Yugoslavia by Nikolay Tikhonov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

No Extradition of Assailants

LD101931 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 10 Mar 83

[Excerpt] A regular press conference was held at the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs today. At the beginning of the conference Vujovic answered a question from Turkish journalists on whether the attackers of the Turkish ambassador would be tried in Belgrade or whether they would be handed over to Turkey, and what sentence is envisaged for such a crime under Yugoslav law.

[Begin Vujovic recording] In principle, as regards criminal acts of terrorism, these acts are the jurisdiction of the court located where the crime was committed. As regards extradition, that decision rests with competent judicial organs. However, since three SFRY citizens were victims of this terrorist attack, the question of the jurisdiction of the Yugoslav courts is not in doubt, especially since the convention on extradition between the SFRY and the Republic of Turkey of 17 November, 1973, Article Three, stipulates that extradition will not be approved if -- and I quote -- the criminal act was committed on the territory of the country requested to carry out the extradition. End of quote. As far as we know, the investigation is being carried out by the Belgrade District Court and the sentence will depend on the verdict concerning this criminal act. [end recording]

Planinc Message to Student's Family

LD101834 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1236 GMT 10 Mar 83

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Mar (TANJUG) -- On behalf of the Federal Executive Council and on her own behalf, Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, sent a message of condolences to the family of Zeljko Milivojevic, which among other things says:

This mindless act of terrorism, having abused Yugoslav hospitality, has claimed an innocent victim who had his whole life ahead of him. Zeljko Milivojevic's courage and self-sacrifice will live in the memory of us all and will serve as a shining example for present and future generations.

Dolanc Praises Yugoslav Victims

LD101727 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1115 GMT 10 Mar 83

[Text] Stane Dolanc, federal secretary for internal affairs, has sent a telegram of condolences to the family of Zeljko Milivojevic, the student who died in Belgrade yesterday from wounds inflicted by the Turkish ambassador's assailants.

The telegram says inter alia:

We are deeply shaken by the report of the sudden and tragic death of your son Zeljko. Your Zeljko laid down his life in carrying out a noble duty. Consciously sacrificing himself, he tried to oppose a group of senseless international bandits who chose Belgrade and Yugoslavia for this criminal act of international terrorism. The shots fired at your son have caused indignation throughout the peace-loving world. Socialist and nonaligned Yugoslavia has demonstrated on countless occasions its resolve to defend the ideals of peace, freedom, and peaceful settlement of disputes by deeds, and it is again doing so in New Delhi at this moment.

On my behalf and that of all the members of the SFRY's organs of internal affairs, I would like to convey to you our deep sympathy, grief, and sorrow caused by your irreparable loss. At the same time I want to express to you our community's deep gratitude and respect for having brought up your son Zeljko as an honest, courageous, and humane young man whose exceptional courage demonstrated a high level of [words indistinct] awareness of social self-protection. It is difficult to be reconciled with the truth that your courageous Zeljko, who laid down his life in battle with cruel and brutal bandits, will no longer be amongst us. His shining image as a good student, exemplary youth, and member of the LCY, a tender and [word indistinct] son and brother will remain in our lasting memory.

Stane Dolanc, federal secretary for internal affairs, has also sent telegrams to Colonel Slobodan Brajevic, retired, and Zorica Zolotic, an official from Belgrade, who were also wounded, wishing them a speedy recovery.

Details of Attack Summarized

LD101819 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1704 GMT 10 Mar 83

[Spelling of names in parentheses as received]

[Text] Belgrade, March 10 (TANJUG) -- The two terrorists who shot Turkish Ambassador Galip Balker in central Belgrade yesterday (Wednesday) arrived in Yugoslavia from Beirut on March 6-7, learns TANJUG.

The terrorists used train, plane, and car to get to Yugoslavia.

Terrorists (Haroutiony Krikor Levonian) and (Alexander el Bekiyan) had Lebanese passports and obtained their entry visas for Yugoslavia in Beirut.

Although many details of the investigation are still unknown, it is certain that the two men were direct, immediate executors of a grave crime in which, beside the seriously wounded Turkish ambassador, one Yugoslav student was killed and one citizen seriously and another lightly wounded.

The thorough investigation still under way will show whether or not the two assailants had accomplices.

The investigatory organs are understood to have ascertained some details, throwing light on how the terrorists learned about the Turkish ambassador's movement in Belgrade. These details, however, are still kept secret in the interest of the enquiry.

A large number of Belgrade cities [as received] witnessed the terrorist attack on the ambassador about 11 a.m. yesterday and the attempts by some people to prevent the assailants from fleeing the scene. One gunman was wounded and seized and the other managed to escape but citizens gave descriptions of him to the investigatory organs. On the basis of these descriptions and the data on the whereabouts of foreign citizens in Belgrade the investigatory organs promptly concluded that the fugitive was a man named (Alexander el Bekiyan) and arrested him only eight hours after the crime.

The condition of the seriously wounded Turkish ambassador, Galip Balker, is still critical, stated Dr Zika Djordjevic of the Neurosurgical Clinic in Belgrade where he was operated on yesterday.

Describing the ambassador's condition as extremely grave, Dr Djordjevic said that his vital functions are maintained with the help of medical apparatus.

Radio Commentary

AU101712 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Mar 83

[Dragan Petrovic commentary]

[Excerpts] Armenian terrorists have opened fire on Turkish diplomats, who knows how many times. These events have taken place throughout the world and yesterday, regrettably, in our country, too. Most frequently, however, members of the Armenian terrorist organization roam throughout Western Europe. With their murders and diversions which they use to attract the world's attention to their problem, they achieve precisely the opposite effect. Here is a commentary by Dragan Petrovic:

The Armenian terrorists refer to history -- massacres in which their people have suffered -- and their arguments most frequently are delivered through a revolver barrel directed at Turkish diplomatic representatives in the world.

However, if one keeps in mind that terrorism does not serve either the liberation struggle or revolutionary goals and that it does not resolve any dispute, that terrorism, as a rule, damages such a struggle, that it is directed against the entire international community, and primarily against the actual interests of those who inspire it, then it is clear how much the individual acts of terror of the Armenian organizations can drive them away from their goal -- namely, a state for the Armenians.

It is also clear to what extent the shots fired at Turkish diplomats also wound those Armenians who fight for their goals without pistols, and without black masks on their faces.

However, if we return to what happened in our country yesterday -- and for a long time this has been a world phenomenon -- we will see that the last third of the twentieth century has probably been marked by international terror which has, like a giant spider, weaved its cobweb throughout the earth. Terrorism, this agitated spirit of current hopelessness, has left increasingly fewer and peaceful oases. Among these oases is, fortunately but not accidentally, Yugoslavia. This is not accidental because our country has always been engaged clearly and unequivocally in the struggle against international terrorism, because many of our citizens and diplomatic representatives have been targets and victims of criminal attacks more than once.

From many rostrums in the country and throughout the world the Yugoslav position was heard that there can be no justification for anyone to carry out, or to help in any way or tolerate terrorism. Yugoslavia has always expressed its readiness to work with all other countries in the struggle against terrorism and expects the same readiness by other countries. This is one explanation why international terrorism has avoided Yugoslavia. The second reason is that we cannot and we will never allow attacks on human life and innocent victims, on behalf of any goals whatever, to become one of the general risks of life.

Yugoslavia will never become accustomed to this because Yugoslavia places terrorism within the frameworks of a crisis of the general world political and economic system. Yugoslavia has pointed out that this crisis is creating a [word indistinct] set of circumstances which, in the final analysis, represents a basis for the general dissatisfaction, anger, explosions and terrorist acts as a refuge of desperate persons, as a manifestation of protest and helplessness.

Yugoslavia has been consistently pointing to the fact that the existing frameworks of the international political and economic system have obviously become too narrow. Yugoslavia knows this and, together with two-thirds of mankind, is searching for a remedy which can be found only in harmonizing the world and relations within it with historic changes which have already taken place and which continue to take place every hour.

TIKHONOV PLANS VISIT IN SECOND HALF OF MARCH

LD101551 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1052 GMT 10 Mar 83

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Mar (TANJUG) -- At his press conference today, spokesman for the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs Svetislav Vujovic told Yugoslav and foreign correspondents that Nikolay Tikhonov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, will pay an official and friendly visit to Yugoslavia in the second half of March at the invitation of Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council.

ARMY GENERAL GRACANIN INTERVIEWED ON DEFENSE

LD092352 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1615 GMT 9 Mar 83

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Mar (TANJUG) -- Increasing society's capacity for defense and self-protection is the basic prerequisite of our independence and further sociopolitical and socioeconomic progress, Colonel General Petar Gracanin, chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army stated in an interview granted to correspondents of the newspaper NARODNA ARMIJA, due to be published today.

Appraising the international political, military, and economic situation, Gracanin stressed that its deterioration is caused by the bloc divisions of the world and the blocs' rivalry over spheres of influence. This, Gracanin went on, cannot leave us indifferent and inactive for two basic reasons. First, being a socialist self-managing and nonaligned country, Yugoslavia supports efforts to overcome the division between the blocs and strives for the peaceful way of settling disputes in the world and, second, such a situation is directly reflected in our country's security.

Consequently, Gracanin went on, constant improvement in our society's capacity for defense and self-protection is the basic prerequisite of our independence and further sociopolitical and socioeconomic progress. For us this means that we must attach more importance to modernization and to the intensification of training and education in order to be able to ensure the highest degree of combat readiness and capability of our Armed Forces and all other subjects of all-people's defense and social self-protection, especially in the case of the young generation, which has a fundamental role in the country's defense.

We are preparing, Gracanin said, to conduct a specific form of defensive war and are working out an original art of warfare, which we refine, test and creatively apply in the course of training.

Combined tactical and all other kinds of exercise represent the most complex and, undoubtedly, irreplaceable form of training and the sternest test of the readiness of our units, staffs, and commands. These exercises represent the most important form of combat training of the Armed Forces and of other subjects of all-people's defense and social self-protection.

Specialized training is becoming increasingly complex because of the introduction of increasingly complex combat systems into our armament.

In this field we look for and find solutions in the modernization of training, development of methodology, and preparation of the command cadre to function faster and better. As is well known, to us the human factor is of primary importance and its readiness, level of competence, and preparedness reflect the essential qualitative characteristics which enable us to gain a decisive advantage over any aggression.

The basic element of our doctrine, Gracanin stated, is that apart from the Armed Forces, all the other forces of all-people's defense and social self-protection, in other words, the entire population, should also take part in an all-people's armed war.

This is why we carry out mass training of all the subjects of defense or, in other words, our defense and protection system. Our organizations of associated labor, educational, scientific and other institutions, local communities, and other social subjects are not only places where productive, educational or research work takes place, but also places where citizens and working people prepare, on the basis of coordinated training and education programs, to take part in armed struggle.

All the assessments made by the Chief Inspectorate for National Defense and all the forms of testing and analysis and especially the results of all forms of exercise show that last year we achieved very notable results in combat training and education as the essential element of all the preparation made by the Armed Forces for all-people's defense.

The public is also aware of the reasons why the budgetary allocations for the financing of the Yugoslav People's Army were reduced as compared with the percentage specified in the development plan for the period from 1981-85.

Despite the reduced resources, our attitude is clear. The further modernization of training and military education have priority. This means that we shall not economize in attaining the essential aims of training and a high degree of preparedness, but that we must carry out training and education at a considerably higher level, thus making our full contribution to stabilization, Petar Gracanin, chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army said in his NARODNA ARMIJA interview.

LCY INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION COMMISSION MEETS

LD100039 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1517 GMT 9 Mar 83

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Mar (TANJUG) -- The fifth session of the LCY Central Committee Commission for International Cooperation was held in Belgrade today. Dr Dusan Dragosavac, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, was in the chair.

Within the framework of the first point on the agenda Mitja Ribicic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, who headed the LCY delegation to the 16th Italian Communist Party [PCI] Congress, and Dobrivoje Vidic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and Vlado Janzic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, who were members of this delegation, acquainted members of the Commission with the PCI Congress' work and the numerous meetings the LCY delegation had at that congress.

Mitja Ribicic stressed that on that occasion it was again confirmed that the PCI represents a significant political factor that greatly influences political trends in neighboring Italy. He assessed the 16th PCI Congress as a major political event where this party's strengthened role in Italian society was brought to the fore. The congress extended broad support for and unambiguously came out in favor of the "democratic alternative" policy, which is reflected in looking for new paths for the struggle for socialism in Italy. In this context the PCI further elaborated its established international policy and confirmed its attitude on the need to establish full equality and independence for all forces fighting for socialism.

The PCI Congress paid particular attention to the need to set up a new international economic order and strengthen North-South dialogue. In this context it pointed to the Nonaligned Movement's role and the significance of the seventh conference of heads of state or government of nonaligned countries in the present world situation. Proceeding from this, the congress delegates sent the summit in New Delhi a message expressing full solidarity and the desire to resolutely contribute to the resolution of serious problems in the world, which has found itself in a crisis due to the arms race, wars that are being waged, and unresolved problems between the developed and developing countries, as well as the struggle of peoples for their right to self-determination.

The LCY representatives also acquainted the commission with the opportunity they had at the 16th PCI Congress to hold contacts and talks with Enrico Berlinguer, the re-elected secretary of the PCI, and other prominent leaders of this party on further promoting fruitful cooperation between the two parties. The LCY delegation also had numerous meetings with representatives of communist, workers', and other progressive parties and movements that followed the work of this, the highest gathering of Italian Communists.

The session then discussed topical questions of trends in world workers' and other progressive movements and our country's international position.

Commission members paid particular attention to the conditions that exert the greatest influence on the formulation of individual parties' and movements' policies and the way in which they are reflected in the LCY's partners' attitudes on the League of Communists' orientations and policy and the SFRY at this point in time. It was noted that in the present conditions of exacerbated world crisis and international relations -- and, in connection with this, of certain problems of our internal development -- our country's commitment to the struggle for peace and equitable international and economic and political relations, including the affirmation of the original principles of the policy of nonalignment and cooperation with workers' and other progressive parties and movements on the well-known principles of independence and noninterference, is constantly economic stronger.

With regard to foreign reactions to some topical phenomena in our economic and political life, it was noted that, apart from certain malicious dramatizations, our country has a considerable number of friends and there is a considerable number of well-meaning environments that demonstrate understanding for some of our difficulties. This proceeds from the fact that Yugoslavia constantly and primarily relies on its own forces and successfully overcomes all obstacles. In this connection it was said that within this framework our country has been receiving some foreign credits, but it has also given credits to others, in line with its own possibilities. It was decided that our country will continue its development along its democratic and humanist path of socialist self-management in the internal and with its consistent nonaligned policy in the foreign sphere.

The LCY's leading role as an antidogmatic and creative basis for further creative quests in complementing the socioeconomic and political system in Yugoslavia makes this possible.

At this session the LCY Central Commission for International Cooperation also paid attention to the League of Communists' international theoretical communications and the role and tasks of the LCY Central Committee Presidium Center for Social Research.

RIBICIC CONGRATULATES BERLINGUER ON REELECTION

LD102352 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1559 GMT 10 Mar 83

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Mar (TANJUG) -- Mitja Ribicic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, sent a telegram to Enrico Berlinguer, secretary general of the Italian Communist Party, expressing most cordial congratulations on his reelection to this post and best wishes for successful and fruitful work. The telegram stressed the deep conviction that the comradely cooperation between the LCY and the Italian Communist Party will continue to develop successfully in the interest of good-neighborliness and friendship between our countries and peoples.